

# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

*Published by the*  
**SOCIOLOGY CLUB**

*in collaboration with*

**THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII**



**VOLUME III**

**MAY, 1937**

**HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.**

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Published by the Sociology Club  
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# The Immigrant Heritage and Social Process in Hawaii

Douglas Yamamura

**Social Process In Hawaii** originated as an experiment in cooperative study of the Island situation conducted by the Sociology Club in collaboration with the Sociology Department of the University of Hawaii. It was intended to meet the growing need for the dissemination of sociological research materials on Hawaii. The response to the publication has been gratifying both from the standpoint of public support and student participation in the project.

This volume of **Social Process** focuses attention upon the "Old World in Hawaii" or the social heritage of our varied population, as a basis for a better understanding of the forces influencing their assimilation. These studies, although tentative and incomplete, should serve as an introduction to the study of the process by which immigrants to Hawaii are incorporated into the evolving culture of the region.

The experience of Hawaii makes it peculiarly suited as a "laboratory" for the study of race relations and of the assimilation of peoples. The large number of immigrants coming from many parts of the world with their varied backgrounds and social heritage, has made Hawaii racially as well as culturally complex. The immigrant, in leaving his native land, tends commonly to lose whatever status he possessed in the old community and becomes a "transplanted individual." But insofar as he finds in the new land a company of other immigrants from the same region or homeland, a small copy of the old order springs into being. Moreover, he brings along with him sentiments, ideals, attitudes, and practices, inseparable parts of his personality, which are sanctioned and supported by the immigrant community.

The presence of a large number of immigrants of the same cultural heritage living in close proximity permits the continuance of old world traditions, mores, and institutional controls. The individual immigrant is organized in terms of a community with definitions of conduct similar to those of his homeland and family. He gains a status and plays a role in this restricted community.

But change goes on within the immigrant community. The institutions, practices, and methods of control of the community are necessarily modified owing to the different demands of the local economy and social structure. Although the process of acculturation is naturally retarded within the racial ghetto, rural or urban, the children attending school and coming under the influence of the dominant culture hasten the modification of practices, ideals, and sentiments of parents. They serve as interpreters of this new culture and civilization and the process of assimilation is accentuated once the immigrant decides to make Hawaii his permanent residence and accepts the dominant culture. Outside the immi-

grant community, assimilation goes on more rapidly. The several immigrant groups and institutions discussed in this volume, though they vary externally, undergo similar processes of change. Similarities are observed in the "Hawaiianization" of Portuguese, Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese families, whose children are being educated in American schools and by the movies. The changing rituals of the Buddhist temples can be thought of in terms of an attempt to transmit to a younger generation of oriental ancestry the cultural heritage of the race. Even the immigrant mutual aid society must accommodate itself to Island conditions.

**Social Process in Hawaii** aims to describe these forces and processes objectively, without moral evaluations. This is not always easy to do since the contributors of the articles are for the most part themselves participants in the institutions and processes they describe. As in previous issues, this volume brings together studies and reports of undergraduates and graduate students in sociology at the University of Hawaii and the publication represents the cooperative efforts of both students and faculty.

In future issues it is hoped that a more detailed account of the various aspects of the assimilation of the second and third generations may be presented. Although this pamphlet is directed largely to island readers it is hoped that it may give the "Outsiders" a better perspective of Hawaii.

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## Continuity and Change

Introductory

Romanzo Adams

Most of these studies were written by university students who are the children or grandchildren of immigrants who came to Hawaii after 1875. The general title of this, the third number of *Social Process in Hawaii*,—"The Old World in the New", is indicative of the developing interest of thousands of the young people in the Territory.

The large immigration to Hawaii began in 1876. By 1890 the more recent immigrants, together with their children, outnumbered the older residents including the natives and earlier immigrants. By 1930 about 85 percent of the population was made up of the more recent immigrants and their descendants.

Most numerous among the immigrants who came, 1876-1887, were the Chinese and the Portuguese. From 1888 to 1907 the largest numbers were from Japan and, since 1907, from the Philippines. In smaller numbers came the Puerto Ricans, mainly about 1902, the Koreans about 1905, and the Spanish, 1907-1913. In addition to the movement from Portugal and Spain there was a small immigration from nearly every other European country, the British and the Germans being more numerous than the others. While the numbers who came from most of the European countries were small they, all considered together, have played an important part in recent Hawaiian history.

It must not be forgotten that before 1898 the American residents of Hawaii were immigrants. For a long time they had been more numerous than the British or the Germans and, during the last three quarters of the nineteenth century, they had exercised a preponderant influence in Hawaiian affairs.

In the recent past the pupils of the public and private schools have been mainly of the so-called second generation—the children of the immigrants. It is still a habit of thought to regard the school children as belonging mainly to the second generation in spite of the fact that they are rapidly giving place to the members of the third generation. While most of the members of this third generation bear the names of European or Asiatic ancestors they are, in fact, native born citizens of native parentage. While the members of the second generation will have an important role in the affairs of the Territory for a long time, the schools will soon belong to the third and later generations.

It is easy for one who has been in contact with Hawaii's young people for a long time to note the beginning of a change in attitude toward the culture of their ancestors. Fifteen or twenty years ago one was impressed by the tendency on the part of Hawaiian born and educated young people to depreciate the customs and ideas of their parents. As American citizens they were trying to win an economic status superior to what their parents possessed and they felt that the persistence of old country tra-

ditions was burdensome and that it was an obstacle to achievement.

But in the more recent years young people of the same age—the younger brothers and sisters or, perhaps, the nephews and nieces—are undergoing a change of attitude. Viewing the situation from the standpoint of a more advanced stage in economic adjustment and acculturation they evaluate old country customs more discriminatingly. They find some things that seem to be permanently good and there is beginning to be a tendency to idealize the traditional ways followed by their ancestors. On the average there is more appreciation for the various old country cultures and there is less disposition to accept in an uncritical way what passes for Americanism.

The conception of an American life enriched by contributions made by the various immigrant peoples is beginning to have its appeal. The immigrant peoples are to be teachers of America as well as learners from America. The young people must preserve the cultural wealth of their ancestors if they would make the most valuable contribution to American life and if they would solve their own problems. Can the native born American citizen of foreign ancestry enter upon his American inheritance on terms of full equality if he comes empty-handed?

This change in the attitude of young people toward the traditions of their ancestors is significant in several ways, but I will refer to only two. On the one hand, it is evidence of a more advanced stage of Americanization, that is, of an increasing degree of emancipation from the control of parental tradition. On the other hand, it is a means to their further acculturation—to their acculturation at a level that is less well understood but more important.

As long as old country traditions, as represented mainly by the immigrant generation, laid burdensome demands on the shoulders of the young people, they were not able to achieve a detached point of view. While the struggle for emancipation was on and while the issue seemed to be doubtful they could not evaluate the customs and standards of their parents fairly. Now that they have been emancipated in so great a measure, they are able to re-examine the old traditions with more discrimination and with a degree of appreciation. One need not be surprised if, in some cases, a youth highly exalts some of the things that were depreciated twenty years ago. Probably such exaltation has a value from the standpoint of the individual life organization, but the main point here is that it is evidence of a sense of freedom. Under the conditions of life in America one's very enthusiasm for the traditions of his old country ancestors is possible because he does not feel that he is bound by them.

Not much has been written about the more subtle aspects of acculturation. The earlier part of the Americanization of the members of an immigrant group is mainly concerned with economic status and activities. There is industrial and business technique and the relations involving ownership of property. But

the later part is concerned mainly with the things that are greatly affected with sentiment and that are essential to social organization—things that lie below the level of ordinary reflective thought. There are the family relationships, the institutional forms and the rituals that symbolize the ideals and standards that relate to family life. There is religious ritual and its associated beliefs and moral standards. Acculturation at this level involves the loyalties and while thinking is not wholly irrelevant the process is better described in terms of emotional response.

Since life is one, we are not able to regard it as well organized when loyalty for the new comes at the price of disloyalty to the old. If the people of an immigrant group are not to suffer from a sense of divided loyalty or of disloyalty, they must, in some way, come to feel that the old and the new are involved in one common loyalty. When a bride leaves her father's home she is happy if she is able to become fully loyal to her husband and his family without diminution of loyalty to her father's house. Similarly, the member of an immigrant group needs to make an emotional integration involving the customs of his ancestors and those of his fellow citizens.

One way to do this—perhaps the best way—is to reinterpret the old in terms of the new and to incorporate it in the new. Essentially this is what the young people in Hawaii are beginning to do. When they appreciate the values of some of the customs and beliefs of their ancestors, the values inevitably are values that exist under the conditions of life that they know about, that is, the conditions here in Hawaii,—a part of America. We can see things only from the point of view we occupy.

A life organization arrived at in this way is one that involves elements from two unlike systems and there may be inconsistency and conflict. There are two constant sorts of testing. An organization in order to endure, must be workable, that is, there must be an internal consistency. In the second place it must be workable under the existing conditions. It is tested by the situation and is readapted to meet the needs of the situation, that is, there is invention. Among the members of an immigrant group the effort to preserve their moral integrity leads to more than is at first intended. Under the stimulus supplied by their situation they become creative and in this case they are helping to create what in the next century will be called Americanism.

## Problems of Culture in Social Work in Hawaii

Doris Lorden Glick

Coming to the Islands from the mainland, *malihini* social workers are intrigued by the variety of races and cultures represented among their new clients. Oriental and Polynesian names and faces present a startling diversity. Manners and habits are even more strange. The extreme reserve of many Japanese, for example, in contrast with the dramatic gestures and vocabulary of many Portuguese; the strange Island "pidgin" and its many variations; widely different diets and household systems—these and many other things make up a complicated situation for those working intimately with all the different groups. Of course, social workers coming from metropolitan communities on the mainland are acquainted with immigrant groups having "foreign" customs, but those groups for the most part had a common European, Occidental culture which was more or less familiar. Group differences have been rather minor aspects of social work, except perhaps in cases of "second generation" children of immigrant parents.

The case worker is accustomed to dealing with the problems of individuals—"each case is different." It is true that there are certain recurring emotional problems, certain patterns of family relationships which re-appear in different cases, but in no two persons or families are the constellations identical. Because of the concentration of attention on individual problems, and because for the most part the client is living in a cultural world much the same as that of the social worker, group practices and traditions, the customary set of "expectations" are taken for granted. When behavior varies from the "expected", it is explained in terms of individual difference.

In Hawaii, by reason of the diversity of cultures and the contrasts they make in this circumscribed Island world, group differences raise many questions in the field of social work. How different are the problems of these Island people? Have they not, after all, basically the same problems as those of people everywhere — family conflicts, financial troubles, sickness, widowhood, juvenile delinquency, and other familiar problems? Do their cultures create any other difficulties, or complicate these? How is case work in dealing with these problems affected by different traditions and customs? Must treatment be modified in terms of different folkways? Do cultural differences between worker and client affect the case work relationship? No one has adequately answered these questions, but there is a growing body of case material and experience which should help to provide a basis for better understanding.

An attempt to isolate and discuss cultural factors in case histories is difficult. It must be based on knowledge of the

cultural groups involved, on an understanding of the exigencies of the case work situation, and on insight into the behavior and experiences of the persons who are studied. It is necessary to guard against generalizations and statements of the "typical." In any particular case the experiences of the persons with whom we deal are complicated and, necessarily, unique. It is impossible, in ordinary social work, to make a complete study of a person and the genesis of attitudes and behavior patterns is therefore obscure. The problems brought by the clients are accepted as the basis for the case work treatment, and information relevant to those problems is sought. Only incidentally is material about the "cultural" experience of the person secured, and then only as it appears to have some bearing on the problems involved, or as it appears casually in acquaintance with the client. Of course, an attempt is made to know the "whole person" in order to understand his possibilities and limitations—his own "on-going" life. But, except in unusual situations, only limited phases of the person's life are known.

Using the "individual approach" we are apt to overlook the significant influence of group and family folkways upon the formation of the person's philosophy, habits and general life organization. Unless one understands something of the Oriental family pattern, for example, it is difficult to understand the determined resistance of a tubercular Japanese mother toward the plan of placing her oldest son in a foster home. Of course, the considerate case worker will not try to force the issue when she meets resistance, but it may be easier for her to work with the mother if she understands the basis for the resistance. The relative values around which the person's interests and ambitions center are related very markedly to the general cultural milieu in which he develops. To use a familiar situation, the matter of whether or not a woman bears sons will have a vital significance in the traditional Japanese or Chinese family, whereas it may be a matter of little importance in a Portuguese or *haole* family. It is a legitimate basis for divorce among the Japanese, but it certainly would not be considered as such by the *haoles*.

An attempt to isolate "cultural" factors, of course, may sometimes lead to false interpretations. We may attribute a strange or unusual type of behavior to an individual's cultural inheritance when it may be something which is a result of experiences peculiar to that person. Generalizations about a particular group, which may have a certain validity when speaking in terms of group achievement, may be mistakenly used as explanations for individual achievement. This error is not only possible in the one making the analysis—it is quite as possible that it may be used in a person's interpretation of his own behavior. A young part-Hawaiian man, with good educational background and early achievement but an unhappy and frustrating marital experience, explains his

restlessness and inability to hold a job by saying, "Well, I guess it's because I'm Hawaiian—Hawaiians are all lazy". Obviously, he was using a stereotype current in the community to explain his personal failure.

This is the dilemma, then—how to understand the factors of tradition and group definitions in the lives of persons whom we are studying as individuals, without distorting their significance, without using them as "blanket" explanations. It is particularly difficult when one is approaching culture from the "personal" rather than from the "group" aspect.

In some instances it seems very apparent that the factors determining behavior are "cultural", that is, the result of the operation of tradition and custom upon individuals. The use of the temple by first generation Chinese, in times of family or personal crises, seems obviously a matter of group practice. It can be said, of course, that the temple is merely an incidental phase of the person's attempt to solve his problem, corresponding to the use of the church among Christians, and that the important thing is to understand why the person needs to use the temple. Granting that, it would be difficult, if the client defines his problems in terms of supernatural determination, to work with him on that or any other basis unless one understood the complex of attitudes which the temple symbolizes. Another illustration in the same field, where "magic" is a part of a person's handling of his problems, is the practice of "**Kahuna-ism**"<sup>1</sup> among the Hawaiians, frequently met by case workers.

In families where there has been conflict, the threat or use of the **kahuna's** curse may definitely determine a course of action which may appear quite irrational. Here again one encounters the use of the magic as a means of re-inforcing or rationalizing decisions which have been determined in another way. A Hawaiian couple who had had a stormy life together were finally definitely separated when the husband consulted an old Hawaiian woman, who told him that his wife was a curse to him, since his mother had opposed the marriage. He never returned to his home, even for his clothes. Now one can easily see that he used the superstitions to resolve his conflict over leaving his wife. But, from a case work point of view, one wants to know how strong an influence the mere use of the magic had, how much it was tied up with his family traditions, and whether it was a factor that could be used in the case work treatment. How could one use it unless one understood something about the practice? Moreover, mores which have been acquired in one's early life have such emotional connotations that their viola-

<sup>1</sup> The kahuna was one variety of the priest in the old Hawaiian culture. The practice of magic, particularly of the type involving the curse, has survived as a rather chaotic set of superstitions, including elements of Christianity and probably other religions.

tion or observance become in themselves personal problems. Infidelity, for example, has much greater emotional significance for the Oriental woman than for the Hawaiian, because the whole complex of attitudes toward it is different.

Aside from the question of understanding the role of "culture" (as distinguished from "personal" experience) in individual cases, there are the problems of understanding some of the group practices which affect social work procedure. In the child-caring field there is the outstanding problem of securing foster homes for dependent children. There is a marked difference in the number of applications from prospective foster parents of different race and nationality groups. The Portuguese group has by far the largest number of foster homes, a number which is apparently quite out of proportion to their representation in the general population, even when one considers marital status. There are about three Chinese families to five Portuguese families in Hawaii, and in Honolulu the numbers are probably about equal: yet there are very few Chinese foster home applications, in contrast to the many applications from Portuguese. It is interesting, too, that until recently most of the applications from Chinese were for male Oriental infants for adoption. In the absence of any study of the difference between the two groups, which have been in Hawaii approximately the same length of time and have about the same population, one could make many guesses, but we do have one specific statement from a young Americanized Chinese foster mother: "My relatives and friends think I'm funny for taking these children in—they say I do it only for the money—they don't understand why I want any other children when I have my own." Among the Portuguese, there is the contrasting attitude that it is a very proper occupation for a woman at home to care for foster children as a means of augmenting her income, even though that is a secondary consideration. One might, with very good reason, explain the difference in the attitudes on the basis of different family systems, involving different conceptions of the functions of the family.

One of the group practices with which almost every social worker in the Territory is familiar is that of adoption among the Hawaiians, the "**hanai** system," as it is rather inaccurately called. The ease with which Hawaiians give their children away for adoption, and the equal ease with which they adopt, is startling and incomprehensible to one unacquainted with the practice. So far as the writer knows, there is little in the anthropological or sociological literature which deals with the practice among the Hawaiians. Margaret Mead, in **Coming of Age in Samoa** describes the way in which the Samoan children move around among their relatives' families, and the ancient Hawaiian system may have been similar. Handy defines two types of relationship under the old Hawaiian family system which are widely practiced

today. "Relationship in formal adoption was indicated by modifying the word for "parent" or "child" by "made-child" (*hookama*). The fostering relationship was indicated by "feeding" (*hanai*): thus, *makua hanai*, "foster parent." A child might be made *hookama* without coming to live with the adopting family, in which case the adopting parents would not be *makua hanai*. On the other hand, any waif taken in and fed and thus becoming a part of the *Ohua* (household) referred to the parents in the household as *makua hanai*.<sup>2</sup> We know little more about the system than just that it exists, although we hear nothing of the first type of adoption of the *hookama*. There seems to have been a set of obligations surrounding the practice, of which we get occasional fragmentary indications. An old Hawaiian man came into a child-caring agency one day to ask that something be done to force his granddaughter to give one of her many children to her mother, whose children were all grown and out of her home. He thought his granddaughter very selfish in not giving at least one of her children to her mother. We have many instances of children being reared by their grand-parents, which is probably a survival of an older, more consistent practice. The giving of children seems not to be limited to grand-parents, however, or even to very close relatives—they are given to friends and sometimes even to strangers. Frequently the request or claim for the child has been made before its birth, and it is taken from the mother a few hours after delivery. The following case is one of the few of which we have records showing some of the customs and attitudes involved in this practice.

"Billy" was the son of a *hapa-haole* mother and a father who was three-quarters white, one quarter Hawaiian. His mother, who had been reared by a "Pure Hawaiian" aunt, had been married once before and had had four girls by that marriage. When she became pregnant for the first time after marrying Billy's father, her aunt, who had been her *makua hanai*, asked for the coming child. The aunt attended the mother at Billy's birth and a few hours later took the new-born boy home with her. The father was not home when the child was delivered, and when he came home his wife explained that the baby had been born and taken home by the aunt. According to his later story, he had not known that the child had been promised, or he would have objected, but since it had been given away, there was nothing he could do about it.

When Billy was five years old his foster mother was referred to a family agency for help because of her illness and inability to work. She and Billy lived in a one room apartment in a rather disreputable appearing building, but the room was clean and there was no evidence of any neglect of Billy. Mrs. F. (the foster mother) explained that Billy was her grandchild, whom she had had since birth. Because of the woman's illness, her inability to continue caring for Billy and the inappropriateness of such a young child being reared by a lone elderly wom-

an, it was decided that the best plan would be to place the woman in a home for elderly Hawaiians and place Billy in a better foster home. The plan was presented to Mrs. F. but she refused to consider it, since it would mean giving up Billy. She was urged to consent, but continued to refuse and finally she disappeared with Billy without leaving any forwarding address.

Several months later she again applied for help, having been sent by friends who had been helping her but could not continue to do so. The friends came into the office a few days later, and reported that Billy's parents were living and were somewhere in Mrs. F's neighborhood. They had told the friends that they would take Billy into their home if Mrs. F. would place him in an institution so that they would not be compelled to take him directly from her. "If they should do the latter, they would have bad luck, according to some old superstition."

Billy was reported as "very mannerly and seems like a bright boy." The case worker felt that the lack of discipline and the constant contact with Mrs. F. was unfortunate for the boy "but she does give him excellent physical care and a great deal of love."

Finally the boy's mother came to the case worker. She said that she would be willing to take Billy back again, but would not take the initiative in having him taken from her aunt's home. She would be willing to accept him if he were first placed in an institution. She could not be persuaded to change her mind.

In the end Billy was left with his foster mother until her death. He was then returned to his own home, and after a few days seemed to fit in very well with his younger brothers and older half-sisters.

It is very difficult to find any material about the adjustment of the *hanai* child or his own feelings about the situation. In the many records of families in which there were *hanais* or where children had been given away, there are few expressions of attitudes or opinions about it. One young Hawaiian man, who had been reared by his paternal aunt, said that "it was only natural" that children would prefer their *tutus* (grandparents) or foster parents, because they were easier with the children than were the real parents. One of the questions which is often raised by social workers is how the practice, which originated in a local, "primary group" situation, works out in the modern urban situation. Under the old Hawaiian regime, where the large kinship group, and not the small family, was the real center of control, children were identified with the large group, which protected them, rather than with the small household in which they happened to be living. Where the control of the kinship group is weakened in the city, is the security of the *hanai* child affected? When his place in the family depends upon the affectional bonds of his foster parents, rather than upon his membership in the larger group, is his status more precarious? It seems significant that in few cases are the *hanai* children of today legally adopted. Will this be the next step in the evolution of the practice, or will the practice disappear before it takes the formal character?

2. Handy, E. S. Craighill, "Cultural Revolution in Hawaii", American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1931.

In contrast to the rather indiscriminate adoption practices of the Hawaiian, adoption in the Chinese group seems well defined. It is ordinarily for a single purpose: to secure a male heir who will carry on the family name. His position in the family is the same as that of a natural son, at least in terms of family customs and traditions. Some of the attitudes toward the adopted son are revealed in the case of a Chinese family which follows,

Mr. and Mrs. D. had been married for thirteen years and had only one child, a girl. Mrs. D. grieved bitterly and tried all the possibilities of Chinese herb medicine and Chinese temples. When she finally gave up, her father, who felt sorry for her, looked for a son for her to adopt. He heard of a poor Hawaiian family to whom a son had been born which the family was willing to give away, so he legally adopted the child and then gave it to his daughter. The boy was regarded as a son of the D's—he carried the D family name and was given the "generation name" of his particular generation in the D family.

Difficulty arose, however, when the boy was sent to a tuberculosis sanitarium with an advanced case of tuberculosis. He was six at the time. Shortly afterwards Mr. D., who was not a citizen, was convicted of a criminal offense and was sentenced to one year in prison, at the end of which time he was to be deported. Mrs. D. planned to go with him and to take the "adopted" son, expecting to maintain the family in China. Because of the boy's critical condition, the doctors advised that he must not be taken from the hospital. Mrs. D. insisted that she must take her son with her. When her father, the boy's legal father, was consulted, he refused to take any part in the matter, saying that he had given the boy to his daughter, so he was a part of the D family which would have to make the decision. Mrs. D. was adamant in her decision to take the boy with her, so it was necessary to make him a ward of the Juvenile Court to keep him in the sanitarium. When this was done, Mrs. D. changed her plans and decided to remain in China only for a visit and then to come back to the Islands to be with her "son".

One of the group attitudes which is a frequent problem in social work is the Japanese attitude toward tuberculosis. It is considered one of the gravest handicaps in marriage, since no Japanese family wants its members to marry into a family in which the disease has appeared. Consequently, every attempt is made to conceal the fact that a member of the family is so afflicted. Because of this, Japanese shrink from going to a sanitarium, or having any member of their family go. The shame which a Japanese feels under these circumstances was expressed by a man who, with his son, was in Leahi Home, the local sanitarium. Mr. N. reported to the social worker that his wife was unhappy living in the neighborhood, "as the neighbors are of the older generation and they shun tuberculosis. Everytime Mrs. N. goes out to buy vegetables they look at her and say things to hurt her. Mr. N. has come to the conclusion that it might be best for her to give up the place and move elsewhere."

Later the son, who had been discharged, told the social worker that it was a "black mark" against his name that he entered Leahi. "He can sense the attitude of the people in his neighborhood, therefore he does not call on any of his neighborhood friends." Many other attitudes and customs appear in the records of Japanese families, which seem to be profoundly affected by tradition and group expectations.

Each of the cultures represented in Hawaii, of course, is complex in itself, and the whole situation is made even more complex because of the interaction and acculturation between the various groups, and the general transition toward a Hawaiian-American standard. Many more examples might be cited to indicate the appearance of cultural factors as affecting social work. What has been written here is little more than a suggestion of some of the problems in the situation, which could profitably be reconsidered in terms of increased experience and new thinking on the subject.

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Social Process welcomes the appearance of Romanzo Adams' exhaustive study of **Interracial Marriage in Hawaii** (MacMillan, 1937). Dr. Adams has utilized the dramatic facts of the meeting and the amalgamation of "races" as the core around which to organize the most intensive and scholarly analysis of race relations in Hawaii which has yet appeared. Chapter headings include: Trend of Population, Race Mixture, The Role of Mixed Bloods, the Brides of the **Haole** Men, the Japanese an Organized Group, Practice and Preference in Marriage, Interracial Marriage and Divorce, Race Relations and Communal Morale.

Another sociological study of interest to readers of Social Process is soon to appear from Scribner's Press. Dr. Everett Stonequist of Skidmore College and visiting professor of sociology at the University of Hawaii 1934-5, is the author of the volume entitled **The Marginal Man**. Important chapters relate to the interracial situation in Hawaii.

An **Island Community** is the title of another sociological study on Hawaii which is to be published late this year. This volume by Andrew W. Lind describes and analyzes the importation and contact of races in Hawaii as affected by the major ecological processes operating within the territory.



## The Japanese "Tanomoshi"

Ruth N. Masuda

**Introduction.**—The word "tanomoshi-ko" is used in western Japan and is derived from the word "tanomu" meaning dependable. In Tokyo and Edo it is called "mujin" which means limitless, in this case meaning that there is no limit to the amount of money one may desire to raise. The use of this word "mujin" in Tokyo is especially significant of the money economy that has developed in this part of the country whereas, in western Japan, the word itself reflects the nature of the agricultural people.

The tanomoshi dates back to days before there was any knowledge of the western world. In the early days the word "ko" meant a lecture or religious sermon to which the people would listen. These meetings gradually developed into clubs and associations, cooperative in nature. Each participant paid small sums of money and when enough was saved they went on pilgrimages to chosen shrines and temples. They generally had a manager who took charge of the money and collected it every month. Sometimes when the funds were insufficient they drew lots and a privileged few would be allowed to go. (This idea still prevails in the form of bidding today in the tanomoshi). It is believed that this plan spread and developed gradually until sometime in the Tokugawa Era (1700 to about the middle of the 19th century) when the poorer people conceived of the economic benefits that may be derived from such cooperative action.

The tanomoshi is carried on in a slightly different manner in some rural sections of southern Japan. Because many of the members are farmers without regular cash incomes, payment is made semi-annually or annually. Usually payments are made at the time of harvest when the produce is sold. Hence, if a tanomoshi with ten or fifteen members is started it runs for that number of years and frequently, a tanomoshi started by one generation easily carries on to the next, burdening the family endlessly. However, in the cities where life is based on a money economy, monthly payments are prevalent. The amounts invested, however, are very small for wages are low. Another difference is that when a member wishes to borrow that month's sum, he bids on the principal and not on the interest he is willing to pay, as in the Hawaiian practice. For example, if it is a tanomoshi of \$100, he writes on his bid \$95 and the rest is divided as interest among the different members.

**Types of Tanomoshi.**—All tanomoshi operate in much the same way. They may vary somewhat as to the number of members and the size of the investments. They may also vary as to purpose. An interesting tanomoshi was once started by several women who wanted wrist watches. They solicited friends and made up a group of ten members, each

agreeing to pay \$5.00 a month. In this way each received her watch eventually. Sometimes a jeweler who wishes to increase his trade initiates a similar enterprise. Suit tanomoshi are also practiced among men.

Mr. A, a tailor, finds that his business is not as prosperous as it should be. As a result he goes on a house to house canvass for customers. He succeeds in interesting seven persons to make suits from him. But a suit costs thirty-five dollars and they cannot afford to pay him the amount at once. He starts the tanomoshi with his seven customers as the members. At the first meeting each member brings \$5.00. That makes a total of \$35.00 and Mr. A is ready to make a suit for one of the members. Then each one writes the amount of his interest which is usually very small. The one bidding highest gets the first suit. At the second meeting Mr. A gets another \$35.00 and another suit goes out. Thus at the end of seven meetings all of them have their suits and Mr. A is prosperous again. The watch tanomoshi operates in much the same manner.

Tanomoshi of this character are usually conducted on a friendly basis and the monthly meetings become social gatherings for the members.

It was formerly the accepted rule that only friends enter the **ko**, but with the economic expansion of the Hawaiian frontier, exceptions were made. When occasion demands, strangers may now participate. They must however, have good recommendations, their characters are investigated and the necessary witnesses must be procured before they are accepted by the group. The organizer of the **ko** is obliged to select members who are acceptable to the group. Otherwise, he will be unable to get the necessary number to form the **ko**.

The highest of morals are expected in a tanomoshi. A person is bound by his honor to the group. Actually some people do slip out, leaving their witnesses to pay for their shares. There is nothing that can compel a dishonest person from refusing to pay after he gets his share. Unless he has overdrawn on the rate of interest, legal action cannot be taken against him. There have, however, been many instances when a person, after drawing out his amount, quietly returned to Japan, leaving the unpaid burden to his witnesses. In such cases all friendship bonds are broken and the individual becomes an "outcast" from the group thereafter. Wherever he goes, if his history is known, he is branded as a "cheat" and not worthy of normal associations. It is surprising how few are these cases when compared with the number of tanomoshi in existence. If a person is of "good character" and he really cannot pay his share, he does not take the easiest course by running away, but will work the harder to meet the situation. Sometimes the witnesses will agree to pay for him temporarily and the amount is later returned to them.

**Functions.**—The tanomoshi is essentially a plan whereby

an individual who is hard pressed and in need of ready money may borrow a sizable sum from his friends for whatever purpose he wishes. This person perhaps needs a hundred dollars within a certain time. He may then ask nine friends (besides himself) to subscribe a sum of ten dollars per person each month to his tanomoshi. When the **ko** is formed, the members decide on a date that is most convenient for them all to meet.

In Hawaii the meeting is usually on a Sunday as most men are free. (In plantation communities meetings are held a few days after pay day). They gather at the home of the promoter who is called "oya" meaning head. The "oya" is obligated to make this a social gathering and has in readiness delicacies and tea for his friends. But business must be attended to first. Each member deposits with the cashier his monthly share of ten dollars, making a total of one hundred dollars. The first month's receipts always go to the promoter, who is the beneficiary and gets the total amount of one hundred dollars without paying any interest whatever. He is thus aided by the subscribers and for this reason a tanomoshi is often said to be an "aid for a friend in need." Of course he pays in his share of ten dollars just as the other members, the only "aid" being that he does not need to pay interest to the other members who are required thereafter to pay interest besides their ten dollars when they want to use the total amount.

Each month thereafter for nine months all the members contribute their regular ten dollar shares and depending upon their immediate needs, bid for the use of the capital. At all subsequent meetings the members who wish to draw the principal submit bids of the interest they are willing to pay for the use of the money. At times there is considerable competition for the use of the money and the atmosphere much resembles that of an auction except that the bidders do not voice their amount and the auctioneer has the satisfaction of first knowing to whom the share is going. The member who put in the highest bid secures the principal for the month but he must also pay to each shareholder the amount of interest he bids. If the highest bid in the second month is two dollars, the bidder has to pay this amount to each member who has not yet received his share. Thus, he would have to pay out a total of sixteen dollars to the eight members whose shares had not yet been drawn, leaving him with only eighty-four dollars. After a person draws his share, he does not benefit henceforth, from any interest, although he continues to make his monthly payments until the tanomoshi has run its course.

A **ko** may thus be a "savings account" for those who can delay drawing their share, while others a considerable element of speculation may enter. When times are bad and many people need money, each member seeks to outbid the

others for the immediate use of the principal. Well-to-do members of a tanomoshi who can afford to have their money in the tanomoshi until the end, receive in addition to the capital, extra payments made by the impoverished members who took their shares earlier. A shrewd and wealthy person sometimes enters two or three tanomoshi at the same time, using the interest derived from one to pay his shares in smaller **ko**, thus making money for himself.

Another important phase of the **ko** is the security. Each member before receiving his share must have at least two persons to stand as witnesses for him. These persons must be members of the **ko**. In case anyone cannot finish his payments after drawing his share these witnesses are obliged to meet his payments hereafter. In case they are unable to pay, their share is withheld from them.

The majority of the tanomoshi in Hawaii arise from the desire to help a friend and the members, as we have seen, are selected usually from the friendship group. It was unheard of to have people of other races in a **ko**. However, with the mingling of peoples in Hawaii these restrictions have been broken and now the tanomoshi is open to other races. This is especially so in the rural communities. Tanomoshi are frequently found whose members no longer form a close friendship circle, but are mere acquaintances or business associates of a foreign race. Of course these "foreigners" must be of good character and dependable. They usually are store clerks, plantation overseers, school teachers, and men of the upper classes. When a tanomoshi assumes this status, it becomes a purely economic organization and relations although flavored with friendship are more impersonal. The personal and friendly elements disappear.

Although the tanomoshi is widely used throughout the territory, it is losing its status among the more educated classes. It savors too much of moral claims in an area of purely economic relations. To start a tanomoshi is regarded as evidence of economic distress and is avoided by people of means, although they will join a tanomoshi which some one else has initiated.

The Hawaiian born generation are generally indifferent to the tanomoshi. They would rather do business with a bank, which is recognized by the state. The tanomoshi with its funds secured by honor seems crude and costly as a credit device.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson-Scott, The Foundation of Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Account of origin obtained from Mr. Eichi Kiyooka, Visiting Professor, University of Hawaii, 1935-36.

## Language Backgrounds of Japanese in Hawaii

Kensaku Tsunoda

**Introduction.**—In order to understand the persistence of the Japanese language in Hawaii, it is necessary to examine the nature of the language which the immigrants brought with them. Language is a social practice, and a means of communicating ideas, sentiments, and memories of the group.

The language in any well integrated culture group appears to be self-sufficing. But in a rapidly changing society, where the experiences of individuals are many and complex, any given language is seldom adequate, and modifications of form and usage constantly occur. Such changes appear most conspicuously in the immigrant language for the new arrivals usually find that their old social heritage and those of the dominant group are incompatible in many respects. Moreover, the immigrants come in direct contact with many material objects, such as automobiles, and implements of all kinds, which necessitates the borrowing of new words. They also have constant contacts with the members of other language groups and a new and simple language for practical purposes develops.

Some immigrant languages undergo more rapid modification than do others, depending on the size of the group, the nature of the social organization, and the complexity of the form of the language itself. For this reason, to understand the modifications in the Japanese language all these factors should be taken into account. This paper, however, concerns itself chiefly with the last topic.

**Standardization and Simplification of the Written Language.** When the Japanese language is philologically classified it constitutes a distinct language group of its own. As yet very little is known as to its origin.<sup>1</sup> It does, however, closely resemble the Luchuan dialect.

Prior to the introduction of Chinese literature into Japan in the sixth century, the people appear to have had no system of writing of their own. Society was primitive, and the state poorly organized. All the tales, poems, and records of their group experience were transmitted and preserved mainly through oral communication. Soon after the people of Japan came in contact with the advanced culture of China they borrowed their system of writing, and during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries Chinese was emphatically the language of the learned.<sup>2</sup> The nobility used Chinese characters—not so much in giving free vent to their own sentiments as in molding their ideas according to the rules of Chinese rhetoric. The nobility

mimicked the *literati* of the Celestial Empire (China) and boasted of exoticism in their composition. They delighted to describe continental scenery which they had never beheld and to depict historical events which lacked the background of their own experience. They made Chinese heroes their own.<sup>3</sup>

Gradually as time went on, assimilation of the Chinese characters into the Japanese language gained momentum. In the initial stage, Japanese polysyllabic words were written by combining Chinese characters having the same sounds irrespective of their meaning. The Japanese word, **hi-to** (man) was written in numerous ways by combining a set of Chinese characters which have the sounds of **hi** and **to**. For example, by compounding two characters like **hi** meaning "to compare", and **to**, soil, the people expressed their concept of **hito**, man. Many other combinations, like **hi**, meaning "skin", and **to**, "to stop"; and **hi**, "humble" and **to**, "hare" were employed to express in written form the concept of **hito** or man.

In due course of time, the concept **hito**, man, came to be standardized. The people retained the Chinese ideograph which in its original use denoted the concept, man, and gave to it the Japanese pronunciation **hito**, in addition to its original pronunciation. Therefore at present, the character **hito** has two pronunciations, namely, **hito**, **nin** or **jin**.

At the beginning when the Japanese language was written with Chinese characters based on sounds, confusion was not so great. However as the people began to borrow the Chinese pronunciation, the reading of Japanese became very confusing. This lack of standardized pronunciation of words made the understanding of sentences also difficult. For instance, a song by **Yamabe no Akahito**, which reads "Ame tsuchi no wakareshi toki yu kami **sa bi** te . . ." contains two characters namely; "**sa** and **bi**" which retain the original Chinese sounds while the rest are read in the Japanese way.

As early as the ninth century, there was already a growing disposition among some of the scholars to simplify the borrowed system of writing in order to minimize the various inconveniences in the use of Chinese characters. Some scholars, history reports, had invented forty-four letters more or less resembling sanskrit. They did not gain general use because of the prestige of the Chinese culture and language.

The more the people used these cumbersome symbols the more they realized their complexity and practical inconveniences. Thus, in the course of time, two forms of **kana**, the **hira-kana** and the **kata-kana**, were invented. The former are abbreviations, or cursive forms of the original square characters, while the latter merely parts of these characters, and

1. Frank Hooley "Nippon-go no Kigen ni Tsuite" (On the Origin of the Japanese Language,"), *Kaizo*, 2(1934), 154-5; also, Samson, "An Historical Grammar of Japanese", p. 1.

2. James Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. 3, pp. 469-473.

3. Inazo Nitobe, "Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization," in *Western Influences in Japan*, p. 12.

consequently called **kata-kana**, or the "fragmentary syllabary".

In the course of more than ten centuries, the present system comprising forty-eight syllabary letters came into existence. This system is commonly called the **I-ro-ha**.<sup>4</sup>

With the use of these **kana** -systems, Japanese scholars and nobilities immediately wrote sentences by combining these syllabaries with Chinese ideographs. Inflected parts of the verb, adjective, adverb, and auxiliary verb, as well as the preposition were now written with these syllabaries. They used Chinese ideographs as the stems or roots of verb, adjective, adverb, and conjunction.

The extent to which the Chinese characters were used is shown by the fact that the names of people, country, prefectures, year, month, time, and books, laws, orders, official names and all scientific and philosophical works have been written in the Chinese language or **sinico** Japanese language. The study of the Four Classics and the Five Kings was prerequisite for any person to attain a high official and scholastic status. This practice lasted until the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912). Even scholars on Western culture (mainly Dutch culture) had to use Chinese for publication purposes.<sup>5</sup>

The written language acquired many distinctive forms and styles. According to the style of writing, it is grouped as **Giko-bun** (classical style), **Soro-bun** (correspondence style), **Bunsho-tai** (literary style), **Kogo-tai** (colloquial style). The language is also classified according to its rhythm. There are the **Wa-bun-cho** (Japanese), **Kan-bun-cho** (Chinese), and **Wa-kan-Konko bun** (Sinico-Japanese). Thus the written Japanese is very difficult. At present, however, the Sinico-Japanese writing in the colloquial form is designated as the standard common Japanese language by the Japanese government. The public schools teach this standard language both in speaking and writing.

The Japanese language in its written form, as we have seen, has incorporated so many Chinese ideographs into its system that it became more and more artificial, and the gap between the spoken and the written widened. The spoken Japanese developed out of the intimate life and experience of the people; the written Japanese on the other hand, was a symbolic and a prestige giving language used mainly by the privileged classes. Once it became the sole property of the privileged classes, the masses found it more difficult to learn.

The task of preserving the ancient colloquial Japanese was left entirely in the hands of court-ladies and a few scholars and nobles. This form of ancient Japanese is now obsolete in actual practice. At present the ritualistic poems are composed with this ancient Japanese in more modernized forms. The classical Japanese in both the style and form, especially the vocabulary, is so strange that reading of such literary work does not appeal to the masses.

**Perplexing Problems of the Chinese Characters.**—Reference should be made here to the complexity of usage and difficulty in mastering the language. There are several reasons why the Japanese language (the written form) is difficult for the masses to learn and particularly for the second generation Japanese in Hawaii. One important reason is the rapidity with which new words were added to the vocabulary; it is estimated that more than two thousand words were incorporated in each century.<sup>7</sup> **Genkai**, a Japanese dictionary published about fifty years ago, for example, contains 39,103 words, of which 21,817 or 60 per cent of the total are Japanese in origin, 13,643 or 38 per cent are Chinese in origin, and 453 or 2 per cent are other foreign words. If the ideographs coined in Japan, which are called the **Yamato** letters, were included, the **Kanji** or Chinese characters would constitute nearly 50 per cent of the total Japanese vocabulary. More than 50 per cent of all Japanese nouns are Chinese ideographs.<sup>8</sup> There is a growing sentiment among the Japanese government circle and many of the progressive educationists to simplify the written form by limiting the number of Chinese characters to approximately 2,500.<sup>9</sup>

In the second place the complexity and the confusion are inherent in the Chinese characters themselves. There are words having the same pronunciation but with different shades of meanings. To illustrate this point, one may present eleven characters which read, **miru** but have different shades of meanings. They are, "to see", "to see carefully", "to see with great attention", "to pass the eyes through", "to look up far away", "to see by dropping one's eyes", "to perceive", "to interview with the superior", "to glance at", "to interview".

Conversely there are lists of characters which when combined with other ideographs change the original sounds but maintain the original meaning. For example, the ideograph pronounced **hi** meaning "sun" or "day" changes in pronunciation in twenty-two different ways when combined with

4 Katsuji Fujioka, "The Japanese Language," in Count Okuma (ed). Fifty Years of New Japan (1900) Vol. 2, p. 1-21.

5 K. Takata, *Moji wo Tsukaubō*, pp. 184-5.

Inazo Nitobe contends that the I-ro-ha was invented in the ninth century, cf. "Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization," in *Western Influences on Modern Japan*, p. 12.

6 T. Yamada, "Kanbun Kango no Eikyo ni Yorite Shojitaru Kokugo no Shoso," *Kaizo*, 3(1933), p. 239.

7 K. Takata, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

8 T. Yamada, op. cit., p. 233.

9 In Japanese elementary education, for example, the curriculum contains 1,360 Chinese characters for the six years course. See, U. Hattori, "On the Convenience and Inconvenience of Chinese Characters," *Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations*, 1931, p. 9; Also, Takata, op. cit., 13-15.

other characters as shown by the underlined portion of the following phrases. They are, "ichi-nichi", "sen-jitsu", "aru-hi," "mon-bi", "to-ka", "Tsui-tachi", "tsugo-mori", "kusa-kabe," "ksu-ga", "a-su", "ashi-ta", "ki-no", "ototoi", "asate", "itsu", "itsu-zoya", "nippon and yamato", "hya ga", "he ki," "tachi guri" (proper name) and "gap pi."

The Chinese character is inconvenient to readers and writers because of its form of writing. There are many figures among Chinese ideographs which differ in one or two strokes. For example, **kaku** (written work), **hiru** (daytime), **ga** (painted or written work with brushes) represent such a case.

Lastly, because in Japanese the Chinese ideographs can be used as nouns or as stems (roots) of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs depending on the auxiliary words, people make serious mistakes in writing. For example, the characters meaning "dear", "intimate", "to long for", "to yearn for", and "to respect the other's characters" are used interchangeably.

**Dialects.**—In feudal Japan,<sup>10</sup> which lasted nearly seven centuries, people of the lower classes were geographically segregated under the control of different war-lords. Peasants not only belonged to the land, but they were the property of the privileged people. In time of war the peasants were heavily taxed in the form of war-provision and services, and in peace, they were also taxed heavily by the privileged class. Peasants did not have time to learn so difficult a language as the written Japanese, and were discouraged from learning it, especially by the Tokugawa Shogunate. It was argued that "the peasants, desertion of the village was due to the fact that they were getting too intelligent", and, therefore, that "it was best to keep them ignorant in order to make them stay in the fields".<sup>11</sup> Moreover, in many villages, girls were never given instruction in reading and writing. It was believed that their ability to read and write would hinder them from becoming good household workers. In such places, a prevalent idea was that if one could read and write his own name it was sufficient. There was no occasion for using the written language save the **Shoya**, who was responsible to officials of the Shogunate with respect to all taxes, crime, and other immoral behavior of the village people.<sup>12</sup>

With such a policy the Shogunate and war lords never established schools for the common people. Schools

10 Speaking on the meaning of feudalism in Japan Honjo says: "... in the hoken (feudal) system ... the feudal lords ... (possessed lands of their own which, with a few exceptions, were ruled by their descendants generation after generation. The inhabitants in these fiefs belonged to their respective lords as their subjects, and each pursued his own vocation under their rule. The relationship of master and servant existing between the lord and the inhabitants of his fief, and the feudal character of territory were the two essential factors of the feudal system." Heijiro Honjo, *The Social and Economic History of Japan*, (Kyoto, 1935) p. 14.

11 Matsuyo Takizawa, *The Penetration of Money Economy in Japan*, p. 84; Toshinori Takahashi, *Nippon Kyoiku Bunkwa-shi*, p. 422.

12 Toshinori Takahashi, *Nippon Kyoiku Bunkwa-shi* (History of Cultural Education in Japan), p. 423.

called **Terakoya** were operated by Buddhist priests, scholars, and ronins (masterless samurai). Here well-to-do sons of the peasants and **chonin** (merchants) studied the written language.

The mass of the people learned their language only by ear. There was a group of people who went from place to place and sang **Gidayu** and **Naniwa-bushi**, which grew very popular among the peasants. Sentiments of **Giri** (moral obligation) and **Ninjo** (human feeling) were embodied in these popularized stories and songs.

In a highly stratified society as in the feudal system of Japan, the classes spoke different languages. When the members of the samurai spoke to the peasants or to the merchants, they used a different language from the one they used in speaking to the members of their own class. Likewise, when the older members spoke to the younger people, and the men spoke to the women, different languages were used.

The general immobility of the people was conducive to the development of dialects in Japan. Dialect is the language of the locale and the horizon of its universe of discourse is very limited. According to Sapir,<sup>13</sup>

Under primitive conditions the political groups are small, the tendency to localism exceedingly strong. It is natural, therefore, that the language of primitive folk or of non-urban populations in general are differentiated into a great number of dialects. These are parts of the globe where almost every village has its own dialect. The life of the geographically limited community is narrow and intense; its speech is correspondingly peculiar to itself. . . . .

In course of time each dialect itself splits up into sub-dialects, which gradually take on the dignity of dialects proper while the primary dialects develop into mutually unintelligible language. So the budding process continues . . . . .

As early as the tenth century, literature records that there were two important dialects. In the time of the Nara and Heian Courts the dialect used was that of the **Kinai** (Kyoto, Osaka, and their surrounding regions), which was considered the standard, all other dialects being looked upon as vulgar and unrefined. In such literature as the **Manyoshi** and the **Kokinshu** (905 A.D.), one finds the name of **Azuma Uta** or "Songs of the East", which shows contempt for these strange dialects. But with the growing political influence of the Kamakura Government, the dialect of the East gained recognition and later the two dialects emerged into a special dialect. Such works as the **Mikawa Monogatari**, the **Shaseki Shu**, the **Kyogen Ki**, and the **Setsuyo Shu**, and numerous works of the priests at Kamakura which were published between 1394 and 1477, all indicate this fact.<sup>14</sup>

The eastern dialect (Yedo dialect) became still more influential in the period of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Until

13 Edward Sapir, *Language*, pp. 161-62; 163

14 Katsuji Fujioka, *op. cit.* pp. 14-15

today the standard dialect of Japan is the dialect of the middle class in Tokyo.<sup>15</sup>

Standardization of dialects or the spoken language in Japan is a modern phenomenon. This is the result of the development of communication, transportation, and the centralized educational system. However, the older Japanese in Japan and in Hawaii, who have been brought up in their respective villages, where the native dialects still prevail, speak with distinctive accents. In Hawaii the members from different prefectures retain some of their dialectical differences. Thus these people are characterized in terms of their dialectical peculiarities. For example, people from Hiroshima use **gansu** as the auxiliary verb ending instead of the standard **de gozai masu**. Thus the people of other prefectures characterize those from Hiroshima by this particular dialectical trait, as Hiroshima-**gansu**. In like manner, the dialect of Kumamoto is referred to as Kumamoto-**batten**; that of Yamaguchi as Yamaguchi-**no-anta**; that of Gunma as Gunma-**bebe**; and that of Osaka as Osaka-**omahen**. The people of Northern Japan, (Niigata and Fukushima), have a tendency to nasalize and hence are designated as Fukushima-**Zuzu**.

These strange local characteristics disappear as contacts are more frequent between different dialectical groups. Thus, here in Hawaii, the people are bi- or multi-dialectical in the sense that the Kumamotoans understand dialects of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, or Tokyo; the people of other prefectures become equally competent in this respect. The second generation, in general, does not speak any one clear cut dialect; his is a mixture of many dialects. His dialect is influenced strongly by the dialects of Hiroshima, and Yamaguchi, for these two groups are predominant in number and in influence on the social and economic life of the community.

The written language will persist for sometime in Hawaii, but the distinctive dialects will probably disappear with the passing of the first generation.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 16, 18

## Chinese Temples In Honolulu

Sau Chun Wong \*

The religion of the Chinese combines the beliefs of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. The objects of worship are the forces of nature, ancestors, ancient heroes, and patron deities. Religion, as observed by the uneducated masses, is handed down from generation to generation chiefly through ceremonial practices and tradition and differs greatly from the philosophies and moral systems propounded by the sages.

The Chinese temple in Honolulu, like many other immigrant institutions, arose in response to the need for security and confidence in a strange land. Almost every Chinese mutual aid society had its special altar room for worship of the familiar deities of the homeland, and special temples with sacred idols and priests from China appeared more than fifty years ago. This paper will attempt to describe six of the temples now existing.

**The Temples.**—1. The oldest and most frequented of the various Chinese temples in Honolulu is the "**Goon Yum**" (**Kwan Yin**) Temple or the Goddess of Mercy temple on Vineyard Street. Established first in the early eighties and later rebuilt several times, it is now situated near the river and stands as a guardian over it. Only a narrow gate with three large characters painted on it informs the visitor of the temple's existence. It is a two story structure, the lower portion of which is used to house the caretaker, and the priest. On the upper floor, reached by an outside stairway, are the four shrines clustered about the central figure of Kwan Yin. Bedecked with paper flowers on either side, with gilded detailed carvings framed about her, and gorgeous embroidered fans on either side, Kwan Yin reposes calm and serene in the center of lesser gods and goddesses. The heaven table is directly in front of her and is laden with copper kettles of sand, drum and gong, incense, candles, "**chi-chi**"<sup>1</sup> cylinders, and offerings.

As legend tells us, Kwan Yin was the youngest and most beautiful daughter of an ancient king of China. As she grew older she observed the many trials and tribulations that humanity had to endure. In spite of the loud protests of her father, the king, she vowed that she would never marry. In order to escape the punishments threatened by her father, she renounced the world and became a nun. The gods took

\* This was originally a term paper submitted by Chew Young Wong, Florian Wong, Sally Sun, and Sau Chun Wong for an introductory course in Sociology.

<sup>1</sup> The "**chi-chi**" cylinders contain one hundred "**chim**". Each of these "**chim**", which has a number written on it, refers the worshipper to one of the many printed answers given by the gods—for sickness, he refers to the set of prescriptions, for perplexing problems, he looks up the set which gives him the god's advice.

pity upon her and made her the Goddess of Mercy. Worshippers pray to her for long life, for many sons and children, for fortune, and for strength. Four holidays are celebrated in her name: February 19, her birthday; September 19, her baptismal day; November 19, her ascension to heaven; and June 19, her death. It is believed that Kwan Yin can transform herself into any imaginable form. People call her the woman with a million eyes and hands. Usually her disguises are used to help those in distress.

The shrine situated on the right of Kwan Yin's is the shrine of the Seven Sisters. There are seven figures seated in the shrine, one of which, as legend discloses, returns to her mortal husband on the seventh day of the seventh month, and remains for seventeen days during which time she washes chopsticks and bowls for every day in the year. Girls especially who desire to be skilled in embroidery work come to worship her.

Other shrines in the same temple are the Wah Tow or Doctor's shrine,<sup>2</sup> famed for helpfulness to the sick and diseased, the Quan Dai or war god, worshipped for life and strength, and the shrine of the "king of gods, king and ruler of earth and heaven." Still another in the corner of the room is the shrine of Choy Sun, the god of fortune, worshipped particularly by merchants, housewives, and sons.

Each figure is brightly decorated, and small oil lamps are kept burning before them constantly. Soot-covered lanterns hang humbly down, and strands of crepe paper flowers waver in the heavy air. Worshippers kneel on the badly worn mats and cushions before all the separate shrines, but it is evident that most prayers are made before the image of Kwan Yin.

The caretaker is a middle-aged, wizened-looking man and is usually clad in a pair of soiled woolen trousers, a grimy cap, and Chinese shirt and slippers. Several assistants help with the preparation of images and the care of the shrines.

The temple is supported by donations from the Chinese public and by the sale of ceremonial papers, candles, and incense. The caretaker and his staff receive their wages from fees given by the worshippers. Other sources of income are few.

2. Another important temple is the **How Wong Temple** on Fort Street opposite the Y.M.B.A. The founder even as a child was considered to be a living god as she healed people with her miraculous power and the potions which she concocted. In all her life, a span of some eighty years, she had never partaken of any solid food. Her diet consisted only of

fruit juices, citron water, small lemons, and carambulas. When she left China to come to Hawaii, she brought with her the How Wong god after whom the temple was named. Later, after the temple was built, she had the Bak Sak or White Mountain Temple in China send the other gods. All the money for the temple was earned by this priestess, and today the temple is one of the few that are self-supporting. The present caretaker is unmistakably proud of her mother who, she claims, prayed with such concentration that even the entrance of bandits did not break her trance. She is credited with predicting the Chinatown fire in 1900, even disclosing the number of days of the fire. This increased her popularity tremendously.

There are five different shrines in this temple. Several of them are similar to those of the Kwan Yin Temple. The center shrine is reserved for the How Wong, or the fisherman's god. Legend discloses that once, when a fisherman was fishing out at sea, a white rock kept coming up to him. Sensing some unseen power at work, the fisherman picked up the stone and said that he would take it ashore and erect a shrine for it if it would give him more power and more fish. The shrine, originally for fishermen, has gradually expanded in use, until today people of any profession or trade may petition the god for good fortune, protection, business success, and safety in travel to China. On either side of the god are seated his two assistants still and solemn in their dignity.

To the left of How Wong is hung a piece of white cloth with small black characters of the thirty-six gods, "Jung Sun". The worshippers must not forget this small shrine, as it represents all of the gods. He must be careful not to invoke the anger of any god through negligence.

Directly in front of the How Wong shrine is a high table with two large copper incense burners, a pair of kidney-shaped wooden blocks and a cylindrical box with "chi-chi" sticks, and oil burners which are kept burning constantly. The copper burners were presents from a rich Chinese merchant and philanthropist.

To the right of the fishermen shrine is the abode of the Zeus of the Chinese gods, "Yuk Wong Dai Dei," the king and ruler of heaven and earth, while to his right is the doctor's god with a round pill in his outstretched hand. The shrine to Kwan Dei, the war god, has smaller incense burners but no oil burners or "chi-chi" or blocks.

To the left of the fishermen's shrine is the maternity shrine, consisting of three figures. The central figure is of course the mother god with a baby in her arms; on her left is the father who presents the child, and on her right is the nurse who holds a pair of scales to weigh the baby. This shrine is naturally endowed for expectant mothers who pray for a good son, good luck, and happiness.

Each of the side walls has a shrine, "Hin Tan", the tiger

<sup>2</sup> Wah Tow was a famous surgeon living during the time China was divided into three kingdoms under the Tartar king. One day the king received a scalp wound during battle. When Wah Tow recommended that the king be given a head operation, the cowardly king thinking that some treachery was afoot, commanded that the doctor be put to death. The gods took pity upon the unfortunate victim and made him a god.



keeper and trainer with tigers by his sides, has control of thunder and lightning.<sup>3</sup> On the other side wall is the life sized figure of "Choy Sun" the god of fortune. He is arrayed in his mourning clothes, as his mother had died, and is leaning on a frilled paper stick which he uses as a cane. He is bowed in grief, and the stick helps him to hold his head bowed, as holding his head up, which signifies happiness, is unfilial. In his left hand, he carries a fan which is supposed to fan away evil. A collection of fans reclines behind him. His ceremonial day is January 26 according to the lunar calendar.

The present caretaker of this How Wong Temple is Hawaiian born and has a fair education in Chinese and a little in English. Her knowledge in ceremonial procedures was received from her mother.

The temple is supported by donations from the public and through the sale of offerings of candle, punk and ceremonial papers. A worshipper pays twenty-five cents for a sheaf of ceremonial papers with two candles, a sheaf of incense, and punk, so the profit is very little. As she has to keep the oil lamps burning day and night she is glad when some one donates a bottle or two of oil.

This temple is popular with mothers who bring their month old babies to the temple to thank the gods for their safe delivery and to celebrate their birthdays which makes them one year old. The mother brings with her some form of meat, usually a succulent roast pig, wine, tea, incense, sweet bread, and rice. The caretaker helps her pray after the mother pays her a fee wrapped in red paper.

3. A very picturesque temple is the **How Wong Temple** on School Street, beyond Liliha Street. It is surrounded by small residential cottages and is itself a rented cottage made over for temple purposes. It is quite colorful with its bright red fence, cement incinerators and shrines. As one enters the gates, he notices a remodeled garage enclosing a large shrine immediately on his left. No idols can be seen, but two large rocks stand imposingly with red paper arrayed about them and incense and candles burning before them. These gods guard the premises of the temple.

The temple is a one-room affair with the gods facing the door and a pair of guardian gods near the door. In the center is the How Wong or fishermen's shrine. Two additional shrines, for Wah Tow, or the god of doctors, and Choy Sun, or the god of fortune, are also worshipped at this temple.

<sup>3</sup> Legend says that long ago there was neither thunder nor lightning. The world was peaceful, and food was plentiful, but people began to waste rice and food, and the gods were angry. So in the dead of the night, the gods came and tried to kill the wasteful people, but in the darkness they killed the wrong people. Feeling very abject, the gods thought of a plan. They appointed this special tiger keeper, gave him the duty of scattering thunder and lightning so that the people would know by the sound of thunder that the gods were angry, and through the lightning the gods might be able to see the people they were punishing.

The offerings of worshippers are placed on the table in front of the center shrine. These offerings include sweetmeats, to sweeten the god's palate, rice for food, wine and tea for drink, and ceremonial paper as money for the gods. Although ancient in atmosphere, the temple carries a few modern touches as electric lights, electric clock, telephone, doorbell, and a license for operation artistically framed. Even the young caretaker, clothed in American style, is modern and radical in some of his ideas, derived from a western education.

The caretaker states that he came from China to Hawaii, attended the St. Louis College until the seventh grade, then had to return to China. At that time he had no belief in any religion and used to disfigure the idols and the temples. Then suddenly, one day, the spirit entered his body. He could not study, eat, or sleep for seven days and nights. He acquired the power of healing the sick, and his conquests over disease and death were famous. Many came to him for healing. Even the insane and epileptic benefited from his power. He came back to Hawaii with no intention of continuing his healing practice, but his relatives and friends insisted, so he did whatever he could. He became a priest and took charge of the temple. He secured another job but was unable to keep it. Some misfortune always stalked him whenever he was away from the temple. He states that he remained in good health only when he was healing people.

This caretaker laments that because of ignorance, people in China and in the islands are superstitious over small matters. Take the subject of hair washing. Chinese people insist that there are only certain ordained days when they can wash their hair, so they look it up in the "tung see", a horoscope-like book. The caretaker shakes his head and laughs. "What difference does it make when you wash your hair. When it's dirty, you know it is, so wash it when necessary, not upon the advice of a book!" He says that as long as the "heart is good", there is no use in offering a huge roast pig to the gods, as the gods do not care. A little incense is as big a thought as roast pig. Only ignorant people do such unnecessary acts. He laughingly says, "If fate determines your life, why do so much unnecessary worship to curb its whims?"

4. **The Quan Dai or War God's Temple** is situated in a dark, musty room over a row of grocery stores on Vineyard Street near the river. An old man, about seventy years old, a retired vegetable vendor, is the present caretaker. He bought it from the former owner, and although he did not know much about the procedure, "the gods taught him". In a week's time he learned practically "the whole business." The Quan Dai shrine is black from the fumes of the candles and is shaded in the background by many high tables laden with copper kettles filled with sand and ashes. Quan Dai is



worshipped for life and strength.

5. A slightly different temple is located on River Street, near the Japanese produce markets. In the center of the upstairs rooms is the shrine of Leong Ma, the goddess of safety, who was a beautiful woman, as one can see from the clear-cut features of the idol. She has bound feet and holds a mirror in her hand. She is surrounded by lesser goddesses, and many have mirrors in their hands which help to light their paths. This temple was built by the "Lum" clan and supported by it. Scattered about the walls of the room are pictures of famous Lums and photographs of Lum gatherings. The caretaker, a toothless gentleman clad in an undershirt and a pair of trousers, is also a Lum. He has a small room adjoining the big room and one can spy a tiny sink, dishes, and an iron bed within. This temple is not often frequented by worshippers but is chiefly used for clan meetings and gatherings.

6. Another temple is the **Sing Wong Temple** located on Kukui Street. The temple proper occupies one side and the proprietor's home the other, where ceremonial papers and offerings are sold and where the proprietor sits and gossips with frequent cronies. This temple was founded at Hanapepe, Kauai, by the present caretaker, who is educated in Chinese history and language. The temple houses "guardian gods" who keep watch over the temple, "Choy Sun" or god of fortune. The center shrine holds the "Eight Great Spirits" while on the right are the King of gods, and the "Fut Mu," the teacher of Kwan Yin. The caretaker is also a spiritual medium and a chanter at funerals, both these occupations being better sources of income than the temple. The temple is not supported by public donations but is supported through sale of ceremonial offerings.

**Procedure of Worship.**—The ceremonials in all of the temples tend to be chiefly of a magical character designed to coerce the gods and spirits to grant the expressed desires of the worshippers. Among the recurrent values sought are: sons, happiness for departed spirits, family happiness, long life, wealth and health, and security against accident and misfortune.

A worshipper usually brings with him on special holidays, and celebrations, a basket of food composed of some form of animal flesh, as pork, chicken, or fish, (or if he is rich, all of the above) wine, tea, and three bowls of cooked rice, and a vegetable dish, as tofu or "jai."<sup>4</sup> As he enters, he hits a panel and a drum several times to arouse the gods to listen to his supplication and also to chase away the evil spirits that are lurking near. The priest may assist if the worshipper desires. He endeavors to get all the information

<sup>4</sup> "Jai" is a rich vegetable dish eaten during the New Year fast by some Chinese and it is also the food of monks and nuns who abstain from eating meat all their lives.

he can as to the desires of the worshipper. Then he chants in a sing-song manner, all the while kneeling in front of the shrine on the mat or cushion. (If information is sought as to the future of sons and daughters, their names and birthdays are written on a piece of paper.) He picks up the pair of kidney-shaped blocks and answers to questions are secured by the throw of the blocks. If both fall with the curved side up, it is a good sign; if one is flat and the other curved, it is also good, but if both fall on the flat side, the future is not propitious and one should take care. The priest may also secure answers to questions through the "chi-chi" sticks or the "chim".

This is the procedure followed by a young Chinese who has had an American education, has all the external marks of a westerner, and who is praying for some member of her family who is suffering from a headache. She buys incense from the caretaker, lights it and distributes it among the gods. The caretaker helps her light candles and takes up the tea leaves, after which both kneel down before the shrine and ask the gods for help. Then the caretaker takes up the "chim" and shakes them up and down until one drops out, chanting while he is doing this. He then looks up the predictions for the number in his case book. Gathering up the ceremonial papers he burns them and then dusts the incense-ash into the tea leaves and wraps both in red paper. He rings the gong and beats the drum. The girl departs after paying and giving thanks with the thought that after drinking the tea the headache will disappear. If it does not, she will come again to pray.

**Caretakers.**—Every caretaker seems to think of his task as ordained by the gods. As one caretaker said, "I didn't like religion at first; I used to draw mustaches on the gods and mark the temples. But suddenly, I was "gong" (the spirit entered my soul) and I became a priest. The gods wanted me to be a priest, so I had to become one or I would be unlucky and have many accidents." This fatalistic viewpoint is rather common.

Pride of position prevents the caretakers from seeking other more remunerative tasks. As one caretaker says, "I tried to look for a job, but after securing one for a while, I would get sick and couldn't go back to work; so I have to stay in the temple." Another caretaker who has been a vegetable vendor says, "I couldn't make much money selling vegetables. Too much competition. When I heard of this chance to take care of the temple, I took it so that when I get old, I can still make a little money without too much effort."

The caretakers and priests, of course, must make a living, and that is one of the chief concerns of some. All lament that too many people come with their own ceremonial papers instead of buying them from the temples, and also do their own praying instead of paying the priest a fee to do it

for them. But as the temple is supposedly public, the priests can do nothing.

Each caretaker assumes that his temple is the one truly ordained by the gods and that other temples and priests are fakes. There is not much cooperation among them and no guild to protect and raise their interests.

**Worshippers.**—The worshippers at the temples are chiefly first generation women who most strongly adhere to the traditional religious values and observe the ancient ceremonies, both at home and at the temples. They pin their faith on one or more experiences which have coincided with the priests' predictions.

Most worshippers visit the temples on holidays, as neglect would invite misfortune. Some more devout, however, visit on any good day of the lunar calendar. Some, thrifty, or miserly, bring their own offerings and chant their prayers instead of buying them from the temple or securing the priest's services; others do not visit the temples at all, as they say they can pray to the gods just as effectively at home. The gods, they add, are everywhere.

Some believe in going only to one temple as their faith has strength and security in that certain temple, not because of the sect, but because of the priest who might have a greater influence on the person than would the other priests, and who might have predicted some truth or facts which strengthened the person's faith.

**Ceremonies.**—Altogether there are thirteen definite times for worship. The first and fifteenth of every month are also considered as worship days. Other important days of worship and the items of food usually offered are listed below:

1. New Year's Day—vegetables.
2. Second day of New Year—meat and vegetables.
3. Twelfth day of New Year—pork, chicken, and fish.
4. Tsing Ming—anything.
5. Fifth day of fifth month—pork and sweets.
6. Fourteenth day of seventh month—anything.
7. Fifteenth day of eighth month — pork and moon cakes.
8. Winter of the eleventh month—pork and sweets.
9. Last day of old year—fish, chicken, and pork.
- 10-13. Birthdays and death days of fathers and ancestors.

**Changing Functions.**—Religious devotion to spirits and natural objects has controlled the life and activities of the Chinese people to a great extent. It was the center about which their life revolved as they believed that the spirits controlled and motivated their activities; in other words, no differentiation was made between fate and the will of the spirits. Ancestor worship was adhered to closely as an example for future generations to follow in respect to the departing generation. Ancestor worship considered the fami-

Now, since the advent of Christianity, modern science, and public education, the older type of Chinese worship has ceased to control the life of a large part of the second and third generations of the Chinese community of Honolulu. The first generation go to the temples on feast days, a few consistently, while the younger generations seldom do. The same practices, however, tend to persist, with the exception that ancestor worship has been neglected in the temples but not in the homes. Once a year at about Easter time, "Tsing Ming" is held at the ancestral graves and this is a time when even babies are taken.

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**ABSTRACT: "HAWAII AT THE POLLS".** The color and fanfare of Hawaiians elections—hula dancing, music, and oratory—blinds many visitors and residents to the merits of the system of political democracy which obtains in Hawaii. Playboy tactics, effective in securing applause at the political rally, are not always successful at the polls. Studies of voting tendencies in the last four elections (1928-1934) indicate that political support depends chiefly upon party regularity. Candidates of Chinese and Japanese ancestry who are in good party standing may be elected and receive their highest vote from precincts which are 90 per cent **haole** (white). Party lines do not follow racial lines although most **haoles** are Republican. Appeals to racial bloc voting act as boomerangs. No single ethnic group can command a majority vote and election demands a community wide, non-racial campaign. Party regularity alone will not bring success unless the candidate can attract attention and support by his own capacity. —Andrew W. Lind, *Asia*, XXXVI (October, 1936), 643-646.

## Japanese Buddhist Temples in Honolulu<sup>1</sup>

Toshimi Yoshinaga

When the Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii, they brought with them, along with other cultural institutions, several of the principal sects of Japanese Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Six of these Buddhist sects, Shin, Nichiren, Shingon, Tendai, Jodo, and Zen, are represented by temples or organized groups in Honolulu. When all the sub-sects and branches are included in the enumeration, there are 19 Buddhist temples in Honolulu.

**Honpa Hongwanji.**—All of the sects have been affected more or less by the American setting. Perhaps the most westernized temple in Honolulu is the Honpa Hongwanji,<sup>3</sup> located on upper Fort Street. Here the influence of the west is reflected in the architecture of the temple as well as in the religious rites.

Regular services of the Honpa Hongwanji are held every Sunday at the temple for different age groups, and here also the innovations from the west are apparent. The most obvious innovations are found in the four sections of pews which fill a large portion of the spacious hall, and in the western pipe organ, choir, and pulpit located to the right of the highly ornate Buddhist altar. Beginning at 6:00 A.M. on Sundays, there is a sunrise service at the temple for adults. The children's ceremony for grade children begins at 8:40 A.M. for half an hour and serves as a brief gathering in the temple hall of all the Sunday School children prior to an instructional period which is conducted at the Fort Street Japanese Grammar School. The High School group's service which is conducted immediately after the children's service is mainly for young people between the ages of twelve and eighteen years. Student boarders at the high school dormitories are required to attend this service, which consists of several chants, responses, and hymns. The noisy conversations of the boys in the left section and the girls in the right section of the temple quickly subside as the organ begins to play and all bow their heads and press the palms of their hands together in silent meditation. The next hour is de-

1 Because of limitation of space, this article covers only some of the external features of Buddhist temples in Honolulu. The original study, from which this article is extracted, dealt with (1) the history of the sect; (2) a description of the temple; (3) the type of congregation; (4) a description of a service; and (5) the activities of the temple.

2 See Brinkley, Capt. Frank: *A History of the Japanese People*, New York, 1915, pp. 369-372 for short commentaries on the nature and significance of the different sects in the Buddhist thought system.

3 Since its introduction to Honolulu in 1897, this temple has grown steadily both in prestige and membership, until today it has the largest membership (1000) in the Territory of Hawaii.

Honpa Hongwanji is a subdivision of the strong Shin sect founded by Shinran Shonin in 1224 A.D. Of its ten sub-sects in Japan, the Hongwanji branches, Nishi (Honpa) and Higashi, are the only ones represented in Hawaii. As preaching centers of Shinran Shonin's teachings, the Honpa Hongwanji has a central temple and seven small district branches located throughout the city. The Higashi Hongwanji has two sub-branches in addition to its central temple.

voted to the young people's service. The addition of a sermon makes this service slightly different from the preceding high school service. Occasionally the sermon is delivered in English, but more often it is given in Japanese. Congregational singing, accompanied by the organ, gives these services a distinctly western atmosphere.

The older people, mainly those between the ages of forty and sixty, gather at 1:30 in the afternoon to worship. This service is conducted entirely in Japanese and retains more of the Oriental flavor. Most of the women are dressed in the traditional ceremonial kimonos and many have their ceremonial "haoris" or coats. The entire congregation averages about seventy-five elderly men and women. Many arrive at the temple before the hour to enjoy a bit of visiting.

The service is begun by the striking of the gong—at first slow and loud with the tempo gradually increased and the volume decreased. This is repeated several times. The congregation sits in silence until the sound from the gong has died away. Then the priests, seated before and to the side of the image of Buddha, begin to chant, followed by the people, some aided by books and some from memory, while still others remain silent. After twenty minutes of chanting, the priests lift to their faces the books from which they have been reading, and then replace them on the small desks in front of them. Then rising, they all leave. Later the head priest or a visiting priest reappears alone, and delivers his sermon from the pulpit.

In addition to the regular services, there are numerous other activities which the Honpa Hongwanji undertakes. One of its major projects is the maintenance of the largest Japanese language school in the territory.<sup>4</sup> Two young people's organizations, the Young Men's Buddhist Association with a membership of 485, and the Young Women's Buddhist Association, are sponsored by the temple. Three dormitories, one for the boys, one for the girls and women, and a third for young men are supervised by the Hongwanji. A priest of the Honpa Hongwanji visits Oahu prison every Sunday morning and conducts a service there. The women of the Y.W.B.A. make regular visits to Leahi Home, a sanatorium for tubercular patients, in order to cheer up the Japanese patients there. Besides these visits, every Monday evening a religious service for the patients is conducted.

**The Higashi Hongwanji.**—This sect is strikingly similar

4 The Hongwanji mission maintains three separate language schools in Honolulu, one known as the Puoto Gakuen or the Fort Grammar School, another as the Palama Gakuen, and the third as the Hawaii Chu-bokakko or the Hawaii Boys' and Girls' Middle School. The grade schools, covering the first six years of elementary education in reading and writing, are preparatory schools for the high school which offers a diversified cultural education of four years. A graduate of the high school may complete two more years in the Kotaka or the College Preparatory School. A Kotaka graduate may enter the Shibhanka or Teachers College for an extra-year, practicing in the grade schools.

Faculty members, with the aid of a few teaching cadets in the grade schools, teach the students of their respective schools on Sundays, I.M.

in its activities. The main temple, located on North King Street, is a two story wooden structure—the lower floor consisting of a receiving room and quarters for the priests; the entire second floor comprising a worship hall. As one enters, there is a little room designated as “office” on the left end of a very small porch. On both extremities of this porch are stairways leading to the worship hall. At the head of both of these stairs are small **Saisen Bako** (offering box) attached to the wall.

Three sections of twelve long benches with backs are found in the main worship hall. An elaborate altar is found on a raised platform in the front. In addition to a large altar house in the center, there are four smaller ones, two on each side of the center altar. The altar is beautifully decorated with fresh flowers contributed by members of the congregation. Within the center altarhouse is a standing image of “Amida.” Another much larger **saisen bako** is located on the right center of the platform. Just below this raised platform is a speaker's stand where the sermon is delivered.

This temple is maintained mainly through generous donations from its members and by the profits from benefit shows and movies. Donations are received at the office and the name of each donor, his or her address, and the amount donated are written on a long strip of white paper. This paper is then taken upstairs and hung on cords along the walls of the hall during festivals.

This temple sponsors such organizations as the **Fujin Kai** for the older women, **Y.W.B.A.** for local born girls and women, and weekly Sunday schools for little children, in addition to regular Sunday afternoon services.

**Kempon Hokke-Shu.**—Although western ideas are noted in the Hongwanji practices, there is a branch of Japanese Buddhism which, because of its brief contact with the West, is still decidedly eastern in customs and traditions. This temple is the Kempon Hokke-shu, one of the most interesting of the sects represented here. Kempon Hokke-shu belongs to the Nichiren sect,<sup>5</sup> the only Japanese Buddhist sect that bears the name of its founder. Though there are in all nine branches, only two of them are found in Honolulu. They are Kempon Hokke-shu and the Nichiren Mission. Nichiren means “Sun Lotus” and this name was selected in association with the sayings, “nothing is more brilliant and fairer

<sup>5</sup> This sect was founded by Nichiren in 1253. The doctrine is based on “the sutra Myoho-enge-kyo, which contains the last instruction of Buddha . . . preached in Japan for the first time by Nichiren. It is the doctrine of the three great secrets: adoration (honzon), law (dai-goku) and moral (kaidan), which resume all the discourses of Shaka; it is however so profound that only the Buddha and the highest Bosatsu can comprehend it. The followers of Nichiren have always been the most turbulent and fanatic Buddhists in Japan. Little by little the sect split into nine branches which at present have 5,194 temples, about 3,700 bonzes, chiefs of tera, and 1,283,600 adherents.” E. Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*, pp. 439-40.

than the sun and the moon,” and “nothing is purer than the lotus.” The sacred call of this sect is “**Namu myoho-Renge-Kyo**”, meaning “Adoration to the Lotus of Perfect Truth”.<sup>6</sup>

The Hokke-shu temple, located in Nuuanu Valley on Lani Road, was established in Hawaii very recently (1931), but it has become very popular, with a large following, especially on Oahu. Its congregation of 300 is made up chiefly of Honolulu residents but it also draws from the rural districts such as Wahiawa, Waipahu, and Aiea.

Every worshipper, as he enters the chapel, removes his shoes, or clogs, or slippers and goes to a sink in a concealed corner of the narrow veranda to purify himself. Then, sitting on his knees at the entrance of the main worship hall, each person throws a coin or two into a **saisen bako** and, with finger tips of both hands touching the floor, bows toward the elaborate gold-plated altar. Each takes his rosary and puts it around the second finger of each hand, presses his palms together, followed by a “vow to carry on the work of this sect.” Then lifting his head, he murmurs the sacred call “**Namu-Myoho-Renge-Kyo**” thrice, bowing after each call. Finally he removes his rosary and claps his hands together five times and ends the ceremonial with another bow. This is a ritual peculiar only to this temple and is practiced nowhere else in Honolulu.

Now every one is free to seek his place in the hall—men usually the left side and the women the right. There are no pews in the temple but **zabutons** or floor cushions are placed at intervals on the mat-covered floor for the use of worshippers.

As the time for the service approaches, the seven members of the temple staff—a Chief Priest, two nuns, a girl, and three boys who are in training, all with heads closely shaved (**bozu**), and dressed in ceremonial robes, enter the chapel and proceed to their places at the front in a straight line before the congregation. The chief priest strikes a bell and every member in the congregation, even the youngest children, join in a chant. After the chant, the priest sits down on a slightly raised seat, while his assistants sit on either side of him—three boys on his left and three nuns on his right. All face the altar. The service consist almost wholly of chants at various tempos. Sometimes the chant is slow and solemn and at other times it picks up speed and volume to a grand crescendo of chanting and the rapid beating of the gong, drums, and a bell. This continues for about 45 minutes, then the priest and his assistants leave.

For several minutes now the people have time to ex-

<sup>6</sup> Sansom translates it as “Homage to the Scripture of the Lotus of the Good Law” (See Sansom: *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, New York, 1933, p. 326). Members of the Nichiren Sect worship the above revered scripture, the utterance of which they believe brings salvation. The principal book upon which the teachings of the sect is based is the *Saddharma-Pundarika-sutra*, in Japanese, the *Hokkekyo*.

change a few words of greeting with their friends. During this period of intermission, some of the members busy themselves by getting the hall ready for a sermon. They pull a blackboard into the center of the room and also bring in a table. The priest returns and everyone sits attentively for a long sermon averaging about an hour and a half in length. After this seemingly interminable sermon, **O-set-tai** or refreshments, including hot tea with candies, **manju**, and other Japanese delicacies are often served.

Every day of the week is a "holy day" at this temple, although the service described above occurs typically on Sunday night, but from Monday to Saturday, there are three services daily—at 5 A.M., 9 A.M., and 7 P.M. On Sunday there is a slight change with a 9 A.M. Sunday school service for boys and girls and a single general service at 7 P.M. for the whole congregation, which incidently is open to all visitors. Week day services are open only to members and to others who have formally expressed their desires to join the membership. At these ceremonies, the congregation is usually very small and each person sits on the bare floor near the altar—no mat, no cushion. It is at these services that ceremonies for curing the sick and afflicted are performed.

The people who go to this temple believe staunchly that the priest and the nuns have the power to cure them of their illnesses by praying. There are many miraculous incidents to which the members point as being adequate proofs that faith healing in this temple has been successful. One cannot understand how strongly these people believe in faith healing until he has attended one of the temple's annual sunrise services<sup>7</sup> which are held on the 28th of April at Hanauma Bay. At four in the morning, members from all over the city, as well as from the rural districts gather at the temple and from there drive out to the service on the mountain. The people climb up the rocky mountain sides, and hold the service on some level spot. A small mat is spread on the ground and two large lighted candles are placed on both sides of a bowl of burning incense. This represents the altar in the temple. With this altar in the foreground, all the people stand close together facing the sun and commence to chant. For more than a half hour everyone continues chanting and drumming until the sun has risen. People who have had attacks of paralysis, the blind, the infirm, and the aged, all are present for this service. Those who are unable to climb the mountain due to illness or weakness are carried up on the backs of young men.

<sup>7</sup> The origin of this service is explained as follows: "Early on the morning of the 28th of the 4th month in the 5th year of Kencho-he (meaning Nichiren) stood on the summit of Kiyosumi and gazing intently at the sun which had just begun to rise in all its resplendent majesty above the horizon that united the heaven and the mighty Pacific in the far away distance, sonorously uttered for the first time, the title 'Namu-Myoho-Kenge Kyo'." G. Umata, *Footsteps of Japanese Buddhism*, Part I, "Life and Teaching of Saint Nichiren", p. 6.

According to one of its members the chief aim of the Hokke-shu temple is to offer fellowship and to help and cure those who are weak and sick. All these things, they claim, can be accomplished by vigorous prayer and faith.

**The Nichiren Mission.**—Although it belongs to the same sect as Kempon Hokke-shu, is quite different in its practices. Services are held less frequently, and the congregation is relatively small. The Nichiren-shu of Honolulu is situated on School Street just off Nuuanu Avenue, and, although introduced in Hawaii in 1900, was not established at this spot until 1914. It claims a membership of 300 households in Honolulu and rural Oahu. Services are held on the first and third Sunday afternoons and on the evenings of the 12th and 23rd of each month. The priest also conducts ceremonies every night of the week from Monday to Friday.

An attractive yard surrounds the temple which is built in Japanese style with a verandah extending around the three sides. A few chairs are arranged on the verandah for guests, but most of the members use only the **zabuton**. Within the temple are the altar to Buddha, low lacquered tables for incense, large drums, gongs, containers of holy water, boxes for the Sacred Sutras, and a considerable floor space for worshippers. The Sunday services are largely devoted to chanting, accompanied by the drum, and to sermons by the priest. A language school is maintained by this temple, as well as several semi-religious and social organizations.

**The Jodo Sect.**—This sect, the second largest group of Buddhists in Hawaii,<sup>8</sup> has a new and spacious temple on Makiki Street. As in the Shin-shu temples noticeable accommodations to western values have been made. To the left of the temple is a tennis court which is extensively used by the members. The first floor is reserved for social purposes, and the second floor, which houses the figure of Buddha, has chairs for its worshippers, and a pulpit for the priest.

This temple is quite active in the community. Its first girls' school, giving courses in sewing and Japanese morals, was opened in 1910. Two dormitories for school children in Honolulu and a Sunday school for children are maintained by this sect. Regular radio broadcasts are likewise conducted.

**Shingon.**—Among the other sects of Buddhism represented in Honolulu, the Shingon, or True Word sect, is one of the most influential. The doctrine of this sect was introduced into Japan by Kobo Daishi in A.D. 806 and includes a great deal of mystical ritualism, lapsing often into magic. The first Shingon-shu was established in Honolulu in 1914 and at present the main temple is located on Sheridan Street, below King. Another official temple is located in Liliha and there are many small private O-Daishi scattered throughout Honolulu which are not officially recognized. The main temple claims a membership of 1,000.

<sup>8</sup> Tajima, *Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii*, p. 24.

Regular services are held three evenings of every month, on the first, tenth, and twenty-first. The bishop, in a brilliant orange robe and his four assistants in black robes chant some of the Buddhist Sutras accompanied at times by the congregation and the music of bells and wood blocks. Certain ceremonies conducted by the bishop, as well as a sermon, are included in these services. The distribution of holy water to the worshippers also occurs afterwards.

Sunday school for children and clubs for young women and men are also provided through the Shingon-shu. But its most spectacular service is in the curing of illness, for which Shingon-shu is noted among its followers. One of the reputed cures involves a student who met with an accident which left her unconscious for several days. The family assembled at the Temple where a special service, called the reading or chanting of *Sengan Shingyo*, was performed for the daughter. This consists chiefly in the repetition of a brief prayer a thousand times. According to the story, when the choir finished the last chant, there was a telephone call from the hospital saying that the patient had just regained consciousness.<sup>9</sup>

**The Tendai Sect.**—With its one temple located on Young Street near Alapai since 1915, this sect is historically older than any of the other Buddhist sects represented in Honolulu. Noted for its eclectic tendencies, this movement in Japan has given birth to the Nichiren, Amida, and Zen sects of Buddhism, and it is not surprising that the small group of Honolulu worshippers at the Tendai temple should also be affiliated with other sects. The chief object of worship in the Honolulu temple is Fudo, god of wisdom, although other deities are also worshipped. The worship is entirely in Japanese and the temple indicates little of western influence. Much emphasis is placed upon healing services.

**The Soto Mission.**—Representing the Zen sect of Buddhism, the Soto Mission was established in Honolulu in 1903 and is located at the corner of School and Nuuanu streets. The temple is an impressive structure of conventional Japanese temple architecture. An elaborate altar is designed to assist in the "silent meditation and abstract contemplation"<sup>10</sup> by which the worshippers seek to penetrate into reality. Chairs are provided for the worshippers and a small organ also is used.

The Soto branch of Zen places considerable emphasis upon "book learning as a subsidiary aid to silent meditation on the truth,"<sup>11</sup> and it supports a Sunday school for children and a vocational school for girls where sewing and embroidery are taught.

<sup>9</sup> This student attends a Christian church and her parents are devout members of the Zen sect, yet every month they all attend Shingon-shu.

<sup>10</sup> A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Second Generation Japanese and the Hongwanji *Katsumi Onishi*

The first missionary priest of the **Honpa Hongwanji**, the largest sect of Buddhism in Japan, arrived in Hawaii in 1897. In spite of early difficulties, this (Shin-shu) sect has grown into the most powerful of the Buddhist sects in the Islands. It numbers among its adherents some 15,000 members, 10,000 Sunday school children and about 3,500 Young Buddhist Association members. Thirty-six temples, some twenty-one language schools, and thirty-nine Y.B.A. organizations scattered throughout the Islands are evidence of the influence of the Hongwanji among the Japanese population of Hawaii. Of the 28,000 odd adherents, more than half are second generation Japanese with American citizenship.

The success achieved by this movement in Hawaii in due in part to the mere persistence of old country values and in part to the sympathetic attitude of the leaders toward Americanization. The first bishop of this sect in Hawaii expressed his attitude as follows:

I take here the liberty of announcing in no ambiguous terms that our mission as a whole advocates Americanizing the people of this territory in every possible way. I, more than anybody else, am aware of my incompetency in carrying on this work. Born a Japanese, brought up as a Japanese, I am a Japanese through and through. Whatever honest intention and pure motive I may have, this sense of incompetency has always kept me from pushing to the front as an active participant in this work of Americanization. . . . Our mission in the islands is, in a sense, a cradle of future Americans.

A similar attitude has been maintained by the leaders of this sect throughout its history in Hawaii.

**Youth and Buddhism.**—The child in the average Buddhist family in Hawaii comes under the influence of the parental religion at an early age. He sees his parents go into the garden to pick the daily "*o-hana*" (flowers) for the *butsudan* (Buddha's shrine). He watches his mother reverently offer fresh rice to the shrine and soon learns that no rice is to be eaten unless some of it is first offered on the altar. With the flowers and rice before the shrine and two small candles lighted on either side of the *butsudan*, the morning worship begins. He may join in the service, imitating his parents as they offer the prayer of thanksgiving (*Namu Amida Butsu*), burn incense, and bow in deep reverence before the altar. He gazes interestedly at the flickering candles, delights in the melodious "ching-ching" of the tiny gong and plays aimlessly with the beads on the rosary. When his father lets him light the candles and burn the incense, he is delighted. He asks his father to let him blow out the candles after the worship. Everything is mysterious, an end-

<sup>1</sup> Y. Imamura: "A Short History of the Hongwanji Buddhist Mission in Hawaii", p. 7.



less wonder to the young child. He does not understand exactly what it is all about, but he sits with the family, watches the candles, hears and repeats the prayer. The service which is held before breakfast is repeated in the evening just before bed time.

Long before the child enters either the public or the language school, he starts attending Sunday school with his elder brother or sister or a neighboring friend. The temple, beautifully decorated with flowers, candles and much gold lacquer work, impresses him far more than his own family shrine. He listens to the organ, to the **gathas** (hymns) and learns to sing them in his own childish way. He listens to the tales of Buddha, of Shinran the founder of his sect, to exciting adventure stories, fables and myths. He meets new faces, makes new friends, learns to revere and respect the Buddha. He anxiously looks forward to the **o-sagari-mono**, usually candy distributed to the pupils after it has been offered on the temple altar. Sunday is a day of joy, of fun, and of new and exciting experiences for him.

When the boy approaches junior high school age, Sunday school often loses its charm, and as he gets older, he drifts away more and more. The stories are not interesting enough, or other attractions, usually athletics, demand his time and attention. He may also consider the family worship as something childish and neglect to join in the services. Approximately two thirds of the boys lose touch with the temple when they drop out of Sunday school at adolescence. Only the most conscientious remain with the temple.

On the other hand, the Sunday school has a firmer hold on the average adolescent girl. She continues to attend regularly, often even after she has finished school and may join a girls' club, sponsored by the Sunday school. The more capable of the girls are chosen to help the priest conduct his classes. Later, with increasing duties at home, the girls likewise tend to drop out of Sunday school.

A substantial number of the more interested young people continue their affiliations with the Hongwanji by joining the Y. B. A., an organization similar to the YMCA and the YWCA. They attend the meetings occasionally and participate in the different activities of the organization to their best advantage. At marriage, they may transfer affiliations to the **kyodan**, the active supporting congregation, or may continue as members of the Y. B. A. An eldest son who is fulfilling the obligations of his deceased father, is more likely to cast in his lot with the **kyodan**. Should his father be still living, he remains with the Y. B. A. as long as he sees fit. Only a few are members of both organizations at the same time.

With the gradual decline in the number of first generation Japanese through death and departure to Japan, the active support and the control of the Hongwanji temples with

their Y. B. A.'s, language and Sunday schools are passing into the hands of the second generation. The first generation declare that they wish to turn over the temple affairs to the younger set, but they continue to exercise their authority and power. Of the second generation that are elected to the board of directors, only a few take an active interest in the management of affairs. The majority confine their chief activities to the Y. B. A. and postpone joining the older and more conservative **kyodan**. In one community where the first generation have actually retired in favor of the second generation, fears of the elders that the younger set was incapable of continuing the support of the temples have proven groundless. The process is very slow, as those in power are reluctant to relinquish their hold upon the organizations, but the trend is inevitable.

**Buddhist Festivals.**—Among the numerous Buddhist festivals and ceremonies, none has more appeal and glamour than the **Bon** festival, celebrated in Hawaii during the months of July and August, depending upon the use of the solar or the lunar calendar. The approach of this festival, which honors the ancestors and the dead, is eagerly anticipated by all sects and by both young and old. It is a time of gaiety, of dancing, fine clothes, feasts and general merrymaking. With New Year's Day, it is one of the two important days in the year for the Japanese when the scattered members of the family circle reunite to celebrate the occasion.

At **Bon**, the altar of the **butsudan** is decorated more carefully than ordinarily. Instead of the usual offering of rice, special candy, oranges or mochi are substituted. The daily **o-hana** from the back garden is missing and in its place may be a beautiful bouquet from the florist's. A **cho-chin** or lantern, hung before the shrine, continues to be lighted a week prior to and for the duration of the **Bon** season.

The most attractive feature of the festival to the second generation is the dance, known as **Bon-odori**. Usually held in the temple yards, these **Bon-odori** attract hundreds of followers who travel long distances to attend them. Even in the strictest of families, the bars of discipline are let down and the children are allowed to participate in the merrymaking. **Bon** without the **Bon-odori** is like Christmas without the Christmas tree.

The most noticeable feature of these **odori** is the almost complete absence of the first generation, especially among the ranks of the dancers. Most of them are content to be merely spectators. The more active and capable ones may help beat the drums or chant in the shed built for the musicians and the drummers. All do their share by contributing towards the dance fund from which must be paid the drummers and the singers. With the retirement of the first generation from active participation in the **Bon-odori**, their places are being rapidly filled by the second generation who today

sponsor the majority of these dances through special committees of the Y. B. A. The element of play, the youthful urge for activity, and the fascination of the rhythmic dance can largely explain the eagerness with which the younger group relieve the older generation of the responsibility. It may be noted that in the majority of the cases, the latter are helping behind the scenes in the planning and the preparation of the dance.

Besides the **Bon** festival, **Hanamatsuri**, or the Flower Festival celebrating the birth of Buddha is observed by all Buddhists. Curiously enough, **Hanamatsuri** in Hawaii has never attained the significance of the **Bon** festival. It was not until some ten or twelve years ago when Buddha's birthday was first celebrated as a joint affair under the auspices of all the Buddhists irrespective of sect, that the second generation Japanese became actively conscious of **Hanamatsuri**.

Like **Hanamatsuri**, **Bodhi Day**, the day of Buddha's enlightenment, was scarcely known among the second generation a few years ago. After the day was called to the attention of the delegates at a Pan-Pacific Y. B. A. conference some eight years ago, the practice of observing **Bodhi Day** has become increasingly popular among the second generation Buddhists who observe it more religiously than their parents who are disposed to neglect Buddha for St. Shinran the founder of the sect. This special emphasis on **Bodhi Day** and **Hanamatsuri** has sharply focused the attention of the second generation on original Buddhism which is more logical and appealing to the American educated Buddhist than the teaching of faith in **Amida-Buddha** by St. Shinran. As the young Buddhist studies original Buddhism, the task of reconciling the teachings of Buddha and the creed of St. Shinran becomes increasingly difficult. It is a problem now facing the Hongwanji priests.

**Young Buddhist Associations.**—Of the many young people's organizations existing among the second generation Japanese in Hawaii, the Y. B. A. is one of the strongest and the most influential. The thirty-nine units scattered throughout the Islands play an important role in the Japanese community. Organized along the lines of the YMCA, they perform a variety of duties and activities in connection with the missions with which they are affiliated. Among the activities engaged in by a typical Y. B. A. unit may be mentioned the following: religious—lectures and classes in Buddhism; educational—night classes in English and Japanese; dramatics and oratorical contests, arts and crafts, etiquette; social—welfare work as cleaning cemeteries, picnics, socials and dances, participation in the Territorial Y. B. A. conventions; athletic—sponsoring and participating in American and Japanese sports.

The Y. B. A. hall affords a convenient place for lectures,

educational movies, discussions and parties for the use of the community. Through this organization, the second generation have helped break down some of the traditional customs and prejudices of the older generation. The introduction of social dancing into the Y. B. A. and some slight modifications in the marriage customs, as having a Buddhist instead of a Shinto priest unite a couple, may be mentioned as a possible influence of the Y. B. A. on the first generation. As an active socializing agent in the athletic, educational, religious, and social fields, the Y. B. A. occupies a conspicuous position in the lives of the second generation Buddhists.

**Religious Accommodations.** Realizing the difference in the background and the education of the rising generation and the inadequacy among them, of the methods that proved so successful in spreading Shinran's teachings among the first generation, the Hongwanji has tried to adapt itself to meet the needs of the young Japanese Americans. The adjustment to the new Hawaiian environment was not begun early enough to cope effectively with the situation today, but a definite beginning has been made to meet changing conditions. In order to spread the gospel of Buddha more effectively among the Hawaiian-born, publications explaining the fundamental tenets of Buddhism have been issued in English. An English division was established and services in English have been developed to replace the Japanese rituals. This change is particularly welcomed by the rising generation as the services become more meaningful and understandable. Five second generation priests trained in Japan under a special scholarship created by the Hongwanji are now engaged in mission work among the young men and women. Three more studying in Japan will soon return to assist those in active service now.

One of the outstanding features of Japanese Buddhism in contrast with most western religions is the absence of a hymnology. To cope with this deficiency, the Hongwanji has undertaken the task of composing hymns in Japanese and English suitable for the different occasions like **Bon** and **Hanamatsuri**. The result is a repertoire of Buddhist music sufficient to meet the immediate needs of the day. Those actively engaged in the development of new **gathas** and music are pioneering in a field quite foreign to Buddhism.

According to Japanese custom and tradition, wedding rites, are properly the function of the Shinto priest, and funerals are properly officiated by the Buddhist minister. In the new environment of Hawaii, Buddhism, especially the Hongwanji sect, has invaded the field of Shintoism and has taken part of its function in the marriage ceremonies. The number of weddings among the second generation that are officiated by a Buddhist priest is increasing year by year. A common practice to-day, it was considered a novelty only a decade ago.



This invasion into a field, formerly forbidden by age-long customs, is clearly the influence of the second generation Japanese who, educated in American ideals and practices, wish to have their wedding solemnized in the temples of their faith. Buddhism, flexible and adaptable to new situations, has struck a new note of optimism and happiness in Hawaii and promises to undergo still further changes to meet the conditions and demands of the rising generation.

**Language Schools.**—No discussion of the second generation Japanese in Hawaii is complete without a note on the language schools. The twenty-one language schools<sup>2</sup>, a vital factor in the support and maintenance of the Hongwanji temples, are attended by some 8,500 young Japanese Americans. Besides the regular instruction in the Japanese language, these schools lay great emphasis on ethics, especially filial piety and respect to elders. The low proportion of personal disorganization among the second generation Japanese in Hawaii has often been credited to the close attention given to the moral and character training of the students by these schools. It is generally conceded among the first generation Japanese that the solidarity of the Japanese family in Hawaii has been maintained in part through the instruction in ethics and language in these schools. The ability to read, speak, and write the language of his parents has been a vital factor in the economic life of many a second generation Japanese. Through his knowledge, he has been able to secure a more lucrative position, a higher social status among his associates and a greater self-respect. Despite the dwindling numbers of first generation Japanese, a poor command of the Japanese language is still an obstacle in getting a good position. The language schools are attempting to meet this situation. The practice among the second generation of going to Japan to continue or round out their education can often be traced to the influence of the language school, although other factors such as parental influence and economic advantage are also involved. Despite the growing reluctance of the local born to attend the language schools, their careers will continue to be influenced by these schools for some time to come.

That the Hongwanji plays a vital and important role in the lives of the second generation Buddhist is evident. In the home, at school, at work, in his social, educational and religious life, through marriage and through death, the Hongwanji helps to direct and shape his future. He in turn is breathing new life and vigor into the Hongwanji, freeing it from the shackles of narrow sectarianism, creating and evolving a new Buddhism, peculiar and native to Hawaii.

<sup>2</sup> The language schools maintained by the Hongwanji constitute only a portion of the total. In 1936, 178 Japanese language schools with a total enrollment of 41,173 pupils and teaching staff of 705 were reported to the Department of Public Instruction.

## Studies of Immigrant Families in Hawaii

Except for the most "Americanized" of the first generation immigrant, the family in Hawaii is still a sacred institution hedged about by moral and religious taboos. The Hawaiian-born generation who are shifting from their own moral world into the broader secular community of Hawaii, frequently react with considerable emotion against the restrictive family controls. Others are still too completely under the influence of the old order to view it critically.

It has seemed, therefore, that no better test could be secured of the objective attitudes and the discriminating capacity of students in introductory sociology than through the analysis of their own family situations. Moreover, the family still provides the most effective medium for transmitting the moral conceptions and controls from one generation to the next, and the most effective laboratory for observing the process. As a part of the first semester's work in sociology in 1936-37, students prepared term papers on **The Family and the Moral Order**, organizing the discovered facts of their own family situation about the following four headings: (1) The household and family economy; (2) family traditions and education; (3) family control and discipline; and (4) family religion and morale.

Many of these accounts revealed a considerable degree of objectivity in the approach toward the seemingly commonplace experiences of their own families. Some, moreover, brought to light aspects of the family structure of "racial" groups in Hawaii which are ordinarily neglected in the more conventional studies.

The following three papers are brief case studies of Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese families in Hawaii. They were not selected as typical of their respective family systems in Hawaii, since there are within each immigrant group wide variations based on length and place of residence in Hawaii, economic position, and social status. They are all representative of the more conservative and aristocratic classes and manifest a somewhat greater disposition than the average to cling to old country traditions.

The value of such documents consists chiefly in the authentic "knowledge of acquaintance" which they provide. Some of the more important influences (standards of conduct and conventional expectations) to which all families of these cultural groups respond are apparent in the documents. The Japanese emphasis upon filial piety and respect, the superior position of the male, a communal economy, and the necessity of all working together to preserve "face" and the "good name of the family" in the community, appear also in the Chinese family, and, to a degree, in the Portuguese family. But there are important points of difference—in methods of discipline and control, in ceremonial and religion, and in the

standards of marriage selection.

The case studies also shed light upon the areas and extent of deviation from the conventional roles in conservative immigrant families in Hawaii. The changed circumstances of life do not permit or compel strict adherence to the stereotyped modes of conduct which old country tradition has assigned to each member of the family. The Japanese daughter, because of her economic contribution and her status in the American community, may play a more important role than the eldest son. The Portuguese daughter may accept a suitor whom she has scarcely seen before. The immigrant mothers of traditionally patriarchal families frequently enjoy economic and social status quite out of proportion to their conventional position in the old-world society, and daughters more nearly approach a status of equality with their brothers. Sometimes these deviations from the traditional pattern occur without much internal family or community resistance and sometimes the change is bitterly contested. Ceremonial observances which symbolize family solidarity to the outside world are rigidly adhered to even though the members of the family have ceased to regard them as sacred. Children sometimes observe the forms of filial piety when the attitudes have become antagonistic. The problems attending these changing family roles will be more thoroughly examined in the following issue.—A.W.L.

### A Chinese Family in Hawaii

*Anonymous*

One of Hawaii's greatest sociological problems is the Americanization of its predominantly Oriental population. We of the second generation Chinese are caught in a cultural whirlpool which gives us a peculiar western-oriental outlook on life. In everyday dealings we think in American ways, being educated in American schools, but our life is largely motivated and built around a philosophy that is Oriental. Most matters of daily living have been secularized, but our spiritual life is centered around filial piety, which is a sacred principle of the greatest importance in the civilization of the East. To view this complex situation with understanding, one must consider the social forces at work in the life of an American of Oriental parentage.

Ours is a large family. Father had eight children; four boys from the first wife and four girls from the second wife. All of us children called the first wife "mother" regardless of whose children we really were. The second wife we call "Jah" which in Chinese means "second mother." This seemingly strange family situation can be explained by the age

old oriental custom which allows a man to have more than one wife. Polygamy in the East is practiced by those who can afford it. A man takes a second wife for these various reasons: when his first wife fails to bear him children, when she fails to bear him a son, or when she is ill and incurable so that another woman is necessary to the household.

Father and mother never saw each other before their marriage. Their respective families arranged the affair. After setting the date of the marriage, my father's family sent one thousand cakes and a hundred pigs to my mother's family. (The greater the figure the wealthier and nobler is supposed to be the groom's status.) This gift was passed out among my mother's friends and was the means of announcing her engagement.

On her wedding day mother rose early and dressed in her wedding garments, and then served tea to her mother for the last time as a daughter. Then she rode unaccompanied to her husband's village, six miles away in the Chinese sedan chair. Being the first wife of the groom, she had the privilege of a formal ceremony which consisted merely in serving tea to her mother-in-law, and then in having tea with her husband.

After three days of festivity, mother returned to her former home with a lunch for her mother. At this time she formally bade goodbye to her mother and family, to start life anew in her husband's home. According to Chinese custom when a girl is married she automatically loses her position in her childhood home and becomes a member of her husband's family. Upon her arrival at her husband's home, she was formally greeted as a daughter in what Americans would call a "tea."

Life being hard in China, father and mother decided to come to Hawaii to live. Mother brought two slave girls who were both fourteen years of age. They worked for her until they were old enough to be married, at which time they were given their freedom so they could have homes of their own. Incidentally, they are still living in Honolulu. Their children call us "cousins" although we are not related in any way by blood or marriage. They are grateful to my mother for their happy life in Hawaii and though mother is now dead, they never fail to bring our family oranges and moon cakes on New Years and during the Full Moon festival.

It is generally believed that in a typical oriental family, the mother is secondary and unimportant, she being so submissive and meek. But this is not the case in our family. Mother was always the all-important mate of her husband. She was decidedly the ruling agent in the family, for father was too busy attending to his business (he was a merchant) and had little time to devote to the family.

Based as it is on a strict family system, an oriental household is, economically speaking, carried on under com-

munal principles. Our home is no exception. Our family is closely integrated, and we all work for the welfare of the home with that oft-quoted adage, "one for all and all for one," as the central motivating force.

Father was the economic head and all the things regarding financial matters were carried out under his direction. Mother and Jah took care of the details of running the house and bringing up the children, but it was father to whom they were ultimately responsible.

All earnings by the members of the family were turned over to father. My brothers' pay checks were given directly to father. Whenever anyone needed money, father was always willing to meet the demands provided they were not too extravagant.

From the time that we could help around in the house we were taught to be useful. We girls were taught to clean the house, help with the cooking, wash the dishes and in general to do all the household duties that a good daughter should know. Our brothers, on the other hand, were required to keep our yard well trimmed and well groomed. In addition they were given the task of caring for the chickens that were kept in our back yard.

Every morning we got up at six. It was cold and dark, but duty was duty and we did our chores without complaint. While I boiled the water and warmed the soup, my sisters would sweep and dust the place. The eldest daughter usually supervised our work. Our brothers too, got up early to water the yard and feed the chickens.

It was not so much that our help was needed at home but that our parents believed that we should be properly trained for our roles in later life. It is an old oriental tradition that sons and daughters must be properly brought up and parents should train their children to be useful.

My parents were especially anxious that the boys should be given every opportunity to live a wholesome, worthy life. They were offered the best in education and other worthwhile enterprises. Father seemed more interested in them than in his daughters. Indeed, it is an accepted fact that in the Orient boys are more highly considered than girls. This is so because boys can help the family economically in the future and because they can carry on and perpetuate the family name, thus easing the parent's constant worry of family extinction.

All of the boys were educated in private American schools and were taught to accept the American code of morals, e.g., respect towards the female sex, monogamy, etc. But it isn't easy to change custom. Living in a home of eastern culture, it seemed inevitable that my brother should carry on the traditions. Let me cite one example. The eldest son has two wives, and his home is an eternal battleground. He made the mistake of trying to combine two cul-

tures. He took a Hawaiian born Chinese girl to China as a happy bride. Eight months later he brought a China-born girl into the home as second wife and forced his first wife to accept the situation. The wives are always fighting over each other's children and each has taught her respective children to call her mother. It is difficult to understand how any home could overcome destruction when children within the home claim one common father but different mothers.

Our family life, however, was very different. Mother fell ill and became a semi-invalid. Being weak and without the services of her slaves it became necessary for someone else to run the household. Father conferred with mother and gained permission to bring home a young girl, who had just come from China, as second wife.

Jah had no marriage ceremony. She merely came into the home and was made a part of the family because mother accepted her. Mother taught her sons to call her second mother. She and Jah lived and loved each other like sisters. When father died a number of years later, they continued to carry on the household affairs together.

Jah is my real mother. Yet I called her second mother, and gave all of my allegiance to the first wife. My sisters and I went to mother for advice and sympathy—not to Jah. Every morning it was mother who received our first greeting. It was she who gave us permission to do what we asked. Should you ask us whom we loved more, mother or Jah, we would be at a loss to answer for we loved them both equally well.

Mother was not very harsh with us. To be sure, there were certain things we were taught not to do. If we disobeyed, we were punished. Smoking was absolutely prohibited among the girls although the boys were allowed to smoke or drink. One day my sister was caught playing with a cigarette. My mother pronounced her a disgrace to the honor of our family and punished her severely.

Mother was also very much opposed to interracial marriages. In fact, we were told that we must marry in our own "Punti" class. My sister fell in love with a Chinese boy whose parents came from "Hakka" stock. The Hakka class is considered by the Punti as inferior and mother absolutely forbade the marriage. She sent my sister to———where she died a few months later from illness.

When I was—— years old the entire family returned to China. Mother felt that she was soon to leave the earth and wished to die in her own country. We went back to the old village where mother first went as a bride. How different was her attitude from that of ours today. While we shun death and cling to the hope that it is far away, she calmly prepared to receive death in dignity, knowing that her time to go was drawing near. Like a typical Chinese, she awaited her time with the fatalistic philosophy of the Orient.

I can never forget her funeral. The horrible chant of the native women made everything seem so gruesome. A beautiful house made of paper and bamboo, a sedan chair, money, human figures, and other useful things were made and taken to the burial grounds. We walked five miles to the place of burial, dressed in black, our faces covered with white sacks. As the coffin was lowered into the grave all of the bamboo and paper goods were burned as a part of the funeral ceremony. This was to insure her getting a good house, a sedan chair, servants, and plenty of money in the next world. After the funeral we rode home and were made to jump over a small fire which was supposed to cleanse us of all the devils which we acquired at the funeral.

Following mother's death, Jah became the head of the household. I returned to Hawaii to continue my education.

Religion played an important part in the rituals of our family life. We had a separate room for the gods and goddesses with miniature shrines built for each. Every afternoon at three, the head of the household burned incense before the shrines. On the birthdays of certain goddesses we fasted and pledged ourselves to certain beliefs, e.g., if it were the birthday of the goddess of mercy, Kwan Yin, we prayed to her to help us to be merciful and to teach us to carry out her ideals in our world. From our earliest days we were taught the rituals and teachings of the gods by our parents who always prayed and asked that we grow up imbued with the virtues of the deities.

Jah believes in spirits. She spends thousands of dollars trying to delve into the mystery of death. Every year she goes to a Chinese woman who enables her to speak to the dead. The woman prays, then goes into a trance. As she sits in a trance, the spirit enters her body and speaks through her. On one occasion Jah spoke to my father and asked him how he was. He answered that he was "fine" but had frequent colds because his body was in a damp ground. Jah had his grave dug and to be sure, there was a lot of water below. She moved his remains to drier ground.

Through this spiritual medium she always asks mother's advice regarding her perplexing problems. Invariably she follows mother's words as she believes that now that mother has entered the higher world, her knowledge is unlimited and her judgment correct.

Jah always celebrates the death of father and mother because she believes that their death on this earth signifies their birth in the next world. We always have a feast and shoot firecrackers to frighten the evil spirits away. However, when we children burn firecrackers, we think only of the fun of it and forget about the spirits.

The Chinese have many holidays but the most important ones are Chinese New Year, the full moon festival, and our individual birthdays. On Chinese New Year we rise early

and pray to the goddesses. Then we serve tea to the various members of the family according to rank, e.g., Jah serves the goddesses; the eldest son serves the second son, and so on down the line. This is a day of great rejoicing and feasting and Chinese believe that the narcissus flower is a symbol of good luck and at this time every Chinese family has several pots blooming in the house.

Full moon is celebrated in respect to the moon goddess. This is why we have moon cakes and oranges. These foods are not supposed to be eaten but many people eat them. In fact, these originally holy days are now being secularized into days of festivity and merrymaking.

Serving tea is a very important function in the Chinese family. On our birthdays we serve tea to all of the family. For example, if it were my birthday I would serve tea to everyone in the order of their importance in the family. Whoever receives tea gives me money wrapped in red paper. However, if it were my mother's birthday, she does not serve us, but instead, each of us serve her.

However peculiar may have been the household situation, I can say with sincerity that the happiness I found and the culture I received in my home are equal, if not superior, to the culture that could be got under any other family culture. I can say with a deep sense of pride and gratification that the teachings and training of my parents were of the highest order. Although educated in the American manner, it is my firm belief that my life will be guided by the truths taught me by my parents, for their teachings were sound.

I am an American—Oriental product, but it is my hope that my parents have not taught in vain and that when the sweet-scented incense burns before the family shrine it will bear to my forebearers the message that I am fulfilling my task of carrying on my heritage of the East with honor and dignity.

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ABSTRACT: "RACIAL MYTH AND FAMILY TRADITION WORSHIP AMONG THE PART-HAWAIIANS". Notwithstanding the absence of ritualized mores and social legislation defining the status of each race and mixed racial group in Hawaii, the mixed bloods do have their peculiar problems of accommodation. A cursory examination of case studies and life histories of several hundred persons and families of mixed racial ancestry reveals that the Chinese-Hawaiians and the Caucasian-Hawaiians have each developed a form of behavior pattern that answers most completely the inner drives of their lives. This pattern assumes two forms: racial myth which is cherished by the Asiatic-Hawaiians, and family-tradition worship which is practised by the Caucasian-Hawaiians. The belief in the superiority of the "Chinese blood" and in the contamination of the "Hawaiian blood" is embodied in the racial myth, while the family-tradition worship centers around the achievements of the white and native ancestors of the white-Hawaiians and the royal grandeur enjoyed by them in the past. These patterns are attempts at accommodation to the bi-racial constitution of the mixed bloods and to the attitudinal behavior of their parental races toward them. Margaret Lam. *Social Forces*, XIV (1936), 405-9.

## A Japanese Family in Rural Hawaii

Emi Yoshizawa

Ours is a large family of nine members, based on the traditional Japanese patriarchal pattern but gradually evolving into a peculiar Hawaiian type. The functions performed by my father and mother are still similar to those of their ancestors, although the roles played by their children have been altered and modified to a greater extent.

My father is the nominal head of the family although his position is greatly affected by my mother's dominating character. He acts as counsellor, supporter, stabilizer of family morale, and as spokesman in social relationships. The important affairs of the family such as marriage and education are usually left in my father's hands.<sup>1</sup> His word was final in the marriage of my eldest sister, and he has largely determined the course of my education.

Father is also the chief support of the communal economy, to which each member makes some contribution. Father is the director of our small farm but the money he earns is given to mother to be spent for the benefit of all. There are some members who contribute money to the family treasury, there are others who help with the farm chores, and there are others who are still too young to help financially or do very much at home. Such an organization makes the individual feel that the money he spends is not merely the product of the labor of one person but of all the family members.

Father is the official family representative at religious meetings, parent-teachers' meetings, community parties, and in important social visits. His status inevitably commands respect and confidence from other members of the community.

Mother has a seemingly subordinate role, but her dominant personality makes her the most influential member of the group. Important matters of business, which are usually discussed between father and son, are further supplemented by the opinions of my mother.

Social responsibilities, such as visiting a family because one of the members is leaving for Japan, or the taking of gifts on the occasions of births and illnesses, belong to her. Other general duties include household management and family finances. Furthermore, she is most active in trying to keep up the family morale and pride. As a mother, and therefore an important member of the family, she can com-

<sup>1</sup> Due to the changed conditions of life in Hawaii—the higher status of women generally, the opportunities in industry, and the gradual decline of traditional family roles and controls—the mother, in most Japanese families, plays an important although still unofficial part in the settlement of vital questions. The actual negotiations for marriage are made through a "go-between" cf. *Social Process*, II, p. 42. The rural non-plantation families tend to perpetuate the old country traditions to a greater degree than most urban families. (I.M.)

mand the respect and obedience of her children.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to Japanese tradition, my eldest sister who is twenty-six years of age plays a slightly more important role than my eldest brother. This is apparently due to her age as well as her superior education and broader experience. She acts as a guardian in the absence of my parents and exercises her authority quite conspicuously.

My eldest brother assumes the next important role, the first male in the family, and because of his generous contribution to the financial support of the family he demands obedience and respect.

We younger children play minor roles. We have our own duties in the household economy but the more important affairs of the family are not discussed with us. We are expected to obey and respect those who are older and we demand the same from those who are younger.

The household duties are confined to the women although there have been occasions where the boys have taken over complete responsibility. During the absence of the women folk my eldest brother condescends to do the ironing while my younger brother does the laundry and the dishes.<sup>3</sup> My father does the cooking, and sweeping and mopping are done by turns.

The men folk in our family dislike very much to have the women work in the fields as it seems to reflect upon the ability and vigor of the men. The dominant position of each individual in his own sphere is revealed to a certain extent by the duties he performs daily. The greatest amount of work falls upon the older children although they could take advantage of their superior position and command the younger ones to do it. Usually the older children take pride in doing a greater amount of work about the house and they are annoyed when they see the younger ones do as much. Generally speaking, each one does his or her share of work as an expected thing without having to be coaxed or bribed.

There are certain traditions characteristic of a typical Japanese family which are strictly adhered to by my parents. As a child I was taught to express my respect for my parents by being polite in speech. I recall clearly how frequently I was reminded that I was a girl and therefore must be particularly careful in speaking for one's family background is thereby revealed. Japanese etiquette demands that the head

<sup>2</sup> At this point it may be said that the mother commands the obedience of children by love and the father by respect. There is a saying in Japan that among the things children fear are father, school-master, and thunder. The father is supposed to play the commanding role and is somewhat detached from the children. The mother, on the other hand, thru greater intimacy, may not be respected but loved. However, it should be borne in mind that the mother may be a dominant individual as stated here, commanding the respect and obedience of the young through severity and fear. The children may, therefore, compensate by loving the father whose actual role may be subordinate and friendly. Love and respect are relative and dependent on the personalities of the parents. (I.M.)

<sup>3</sup> This marks a distinct departure from the Japanese tradition of men's work.

of the family should always be considered first. At the table my father is served first, then my brothers according to their ages, and lastly the girls.

Proper behavior is especially emphasized during meal time. I remember very vividly being asked to leave the table because I had my foot on the rungs of my father's chair. Physical punishment which consisted of tying or slapping my hands was employed to cure me of my left handedness. Mother said it was a shame and a disgrace for a girl to be left-handed. In Japan, it is a mark against a maiden and certainly a hindrance to marriage.

Modesty in accepting invitations for dinner and in accepting gifts are definitely stressed. The idea is to show some reserve in the beginning and then gradually to accept.

Reciprocal giving is also religiously adhered to. We are taught never to return an empty basket or bowl. If a neighbor gives us a bowl of sweet cakes, we in return give him some eggs or sweets. If nothing very suitable is available a box of matches is placed in the container. It is also the custom to thank the party again when meeting him some other time. Mother says that it is the duty of a woman to remember the gifts she had received so she will be sure to extend verbal thanks when she meets the giver again. To forget even after the lapse of a year is discourteous.

Discipline for the girls is more rigid than for the boys, and it is enforced for the greater part by my parents through physical punishment and inferences. The girls are expected to stay home at nights because mother is afraid of what the community people might say. She often says that we must live up to the expectations of the people in the community. My parents have often referred to examples of unfortunate girls who have supposedly suffered the consequences of night life. On the other hand, the boys are not held in tight reins. Nevertheless, there are certain forms of disobedience which affect both the girls and the boys. To question the opinions of the parents is regarded as a very impolite and indeed an offensive act. According to the tradition of the family to "answer back" is hardly forgivable.

Interracial marriage has always been forbidden in our family, and I remember vividly the wild excitement over my sister's intention to marry a man of another race. The other members were merciless in their condemnations. Here are a few of the sentiments expressed by the different individuals of the family.

Father—"Oh, the girl turned out to be the worst in the family." Mother—addressing me and speaking loudly enough so my sister could hear her, "the people in the community especially the x, y, and z families are waiting to laugh at us. Mother will have to be crying all her life if anyone marries an outsider. I don't care whom you marry but please marry a Japanese." Eldest sister—"I never saw such a thing in

my life. She's always been the sneaky type anyway. You would never think this would happen in our family, of all the families! I bet those people are making fun of us. Imagine father's position when he has been trying to prevent intermarriages in other families; why they'll snicker and say "How about your own daughter?" Eldest brother who is the most stalwart ordinarily, actually broke down with sobs—"the fool, I am not going to work tomorrow. I can't face my friends." Their pride was hurt and so deeply did they feel it that for many days they confined themselves at home, living in utter misery and discomfort. The fact that all their "faces" were smeared by this act made it an unforgivable offense.

My eldest brother and sister are expected to uphold the traditions concerning sex and marital relations as an example for the younger ones. My parents talk about sex only when there is an appropriate example. For instance, when an unmarried girl in the community becomes pregnant there is always a lot of gossip. Mother discusses it when the children are around and says what a terrible disgrace and shame it is to have such ugly things said about one. She goes on further to say how disappointed this girl's father and mother must be. Her brothers and sister, father and mother will never be able to go to Japan again. And worse still, if a parent or some other member of the girl's family has recently died, this person, I am told, must weep beside some kind of a stream in heaven or behind some bushes. Then mother ends in a grand finale by saying she would rather go to "Hades" than to see her daughter in such a disgraceful state. My father brings in threats of physical punishment.

Prejudice is carried to a fine point in the realm of marriage, although it is not so in everyday association. Not only is there racial discrimination but a tendency toward intra-racial discrimination. That is to say it is not enough to marry just a Japanese; he should belong to the same prefecture, and be of equal rank, and of course so much the better if his family are from the same community in Japan.

Control by gesture is used quite extensively in the family. Once, at a party, I felt someone pinching me. It was my mother, and I knew immediately that I wasn't doing the right thing. Sometimes it is because I am using my left hand, other times because my ungainly legs are not folded properly. When distance is involved, glaring eyes from mother mean "stop laughing so heartily" and glaring eyes plus a sort of pout mean "use your right hand!" A shaking of the head slowly and inconspicuously from left to right usually means "I want to see you when we reach home." A verbal gesture is also used—that is a fast whisper as "do keep quiet", "be gentle", "take care of the baby", "go call your father", "remember to thank the lady for the nice present" and "make some tea." This form of gesture is used only



when there is company.

Perhaps the most unpleasant experiences I've had in the way of discipline are in being ridiculed by my family. Taking a slice of family life with the element of ridicule in it: Mother: "Don't tread so heavily!"

Eldest Brother: "The house reminds me of a zoo when you walk. You know the elephant." (Laughs from other members of the family).

Whether such ridiculing has any bad effects or not, it is used as a means to control the individual. However, the more humane method is sometimes used, such as making an appeal to one's conscience.

In trying to discourage an affair between my brother and a girl of whom they disapproved, my parents referred to the relationships between the family, the community, and the relatives. They pointed out the family's position in the community and spoke of the jealous friends waiting to prey on the family. They referred to their own lives and their efforts to build up family prestige and pride only to have the first born son shatter it. They stressed the shame reflected on his sisters and the consequent difficulty for them to be married off. And finally they urged, "You must realize that you have relatives in Japan and they hold a reputable position in the community. Any shameful act of yours will also hurt their pride."

The fact that society as well as the kinship groups impose certain roles upon the family has become apparent after analyzing certain of the family's religious rituals and ceremonies. Until the time of my sister's death there was no particular religious order in the family. We kept the two traditional shrines at home but unlike other Japanese families we never had the priest conduct a service at our home. A death in the family seemed to have had a tremendous effect upon the family, for when we moved into the new house father had a shrine built in the wall of the living room. This shrine is primarily for the dead in the family while the other, which is a simpler affair and placed in a different corner of the room is primarily for ancestor worship. In the former shrine a little card with the words **Namu amida butsu** is placed. A picture of the Buddha is pasted on the wall back of the little shrine. On the left of the shrine are a picture of my sister and a little wooden tablet with her sainthood name written on it. This name was given to her by the priest. On the lower stage are a tiny gong, an offertory stand, incense burner, a scripture book, a Japanese rosary, a candle stand, a little lamp and two tiny flower vases.

In certain respects, regarding religious rites and ceremonies, my parents expect us to follow the Buddhist form of worship just as a matter of form, for they are not at all dogmatic Buddhists. They merely expect us to act accordingly when we are present at such services. However, to fail to

conform to them when expected is quite a displeasing form of disobedience. Similarly, in this case, as it has been true with other incidents, it is not the absolute act that offends them, but rather the effect it has on other people and the reactions they set forth concerning it.

Any delicacy which the family partakes is shared with my deceased sister, that is, we place some of it on the altar. Each morning, mother places some freshly cooked rice on the altar and offers a short prayer. She also prays before retiring at night. The rest of the members do not do this but they participate in the anniversary ritual of my sister's death by visiting her grave, and praying at the graveside. We usually take a bundle of incense sticks, a bottle of water, some flowers and delicacies. At the grave we place the flowers and the food in their respective places, and water is poured over the wooden tablet. The latter act is supposed to show respect to the dead. My father then places a few incense sticks on the grave and mutters **namu amida butsu** three times. Then follows mother, and the rest of the children in the order of their seniority.

Aside from this performance the family does not follow other religious practices generally observed in Japanese families. Occasionally a friend who professes to know a little of the chant would offer a chant before the shrine, in which case mother would be the only appreciative audience.

In general, I have found my family following the fundamental traditional pattern of religious practices but dispensing with the many elaborate and common rituals. Only through the constant urging of my father's friends did my parents take my eldest brother to the priest for baptism. There was a baptismal party on the seventh day. Close friends of the family attended. A bottle of sake which was placed on the shrine was opened and a few dabs of it were placed on the baby's forehead while my father placed a piece of paper with the name written on it on the forehead. The rest of the sake was offered to the guests. A month later, the baby, garbed in an elaborate kimono with the family crest, sent by my grandmother, was taken to the priest as a matter of formality. The priest prayed for the child, wrote his name on a piece of paper with a brush, and when he was through he pressed the brush on the "soft spot" of the baby's head. The crying of the child then is believed to be a good omen. The priest gave my mother a string of beads (Japanese rosary) to safeguard the baby from attacks of convulsions.

As to funerals, I recall vividly certain things which were done at my sister's death. The body was first brought to the house. Pieces of cheesecloth, torn into the size of washcloths, were given to each member of the family, who bathed the dead child. During this process one must not let his tears fall on the body, as this is said to hinder the soul from

reaching heaven—it makes it harder to leave the earth. In the meantime some of our lady friends were busily making a plain muslin dress for my sister. Some rules are also observed in this process; such as tearing the material instead of using scissors, and stitching with unknotted threads. When my sister was thus dressed, one of her beautiful kimonos was thrown over her with the hem towards the neck. The kimono was placed in such a manner because she had passed away before her father or mother. Our friends came over to extend their condolences and each one presented us with an envelope containing money. For the funeral service mother dressed us in black kimonos. The shrine was lighted and the priest chanted. Towards the end of the service an incense burner with a container of broken incense sticks was passed among the people. We picked some incense sticks with our fingers, raised them to our foreheads and placed them in the incense burner. We repeated this three times as a form of respect to the dead. After the funeral service the people consoled us by saying that she was now a saint in heaven. Most of our friends, and the children of our family, accompanied the body to the cemetery. Each one of us took something which belonged to my sister, sprigs of flowers or paper flags. At the cemetery there was a short service after which the body was lowered into the grave with her head pointing toward the west. Then the members of the family took turns in grasping a handful of dirt and disposing it on the coffin. This act meant that we were willing to have them cover her. A long wooden tablet with her saint-hood name, her real name, and the day of her death, was placed just above her chest and dirt was piled around it. The next day my father and mother visited the grave and on the seventh day the whole family went to the temple for a service where there was some chanting, and prayers were also offered.

On the forty-ninth day we passed a can of tea to each one of those who helped us during our bereavement. On the thirteenth of July, the first **Bon**<sup>4</sup> of the family, we visited the grave to bring the spirit of my sister home. We had choice foods for the next two days because we were supposed to have as our spiritual guest my little sister. On the night of the fifteenth we lighted the many paper lanterns we had received from friends and took them to the grave. This act

<sup>4</sup> According to Japanese traditions, the Bon ceremonies began with Moku-ran-shonjo, the third ranking disciple of Buddha's 33,333 followers. Moku-ran-shonjo's mother was a greedy and selfish woman, who cheated the poor of their rice and food, in order to better the material comforts of her son, and, as a consequence of her sins, was sent to hell. While reading his Sutra, Moku-ran-shonjo learned of his mother's predicament and departed to the world below to get her, bringing her back on the sixteenth of July. His friends rejoiced at his return and danced the first of the Bon Odori which to this day has been the dance of joy for the salvation of dead souls.

The Bon ceremonies last from July 14 to 16 customarily, but the 13th is sometimes observed. cf: Rev. H. H. Coater and Rev. R. Ishizuku: "Honen The Buddhist Saint", Tokyo, 1930, pp. 11-12.

is supposed to send the spirit back to heaven. The cemetery was lighted with myriads of paper lanterns. It was a memorable sight.

The marriage of my eldest sister was an elaborate affair, because by tradition it is supposed to be a very happy occasion. My parents feel duty bound to give a grand wedding to each of their children.

In the case of my sister's marriage, the matchmakers came over to ask for her hand. Not long afterward a small engagement party was held. Friends of the family came and the groom sent a small barrel of sake, some money, and a formal Japanese kimono with the groom's family crest on it. The engagement was announced by the matchmakers. A week later the wedding was held.

The groom arrived with the matchmakers at the appointed hour, and sitting at the table went through the formality of exchanging sake cups with the members of our family. He was then recognized as the son-in-law of the family. Then he left for the party which was held at the community house. In the meantime the bride, dressed in a white kimono, exchanged sake cups with her friends, and after shedding tears and repeating farewells she left for the groom's party with the bridesmaid, a man and a woman representing my parents, and the matchmakers. Upon her arrival there, she and her future husband were taken into a small room accompanied by the matchmakers. There the **san-san-kudo** was performed. There were three graduated sake cups placed before the party. A little boy with a gold sake container and a little girl with a silver one poured sake into the cups. The cup was passed between the bridegroom and the matchmakers first, and then between the couple. This was repeated three times. After this important ceremony the bride, dressed in a red kimono, was introduced to the people, and several speeches were made on behalf of the bride and the bridegroom, and the parents of both parties. Later the bride changed into a black kimono which signified that she was no longer a maiden but a matron.

After the excitement of the wedding was over my father and mother often expressed relief and satisfaction for having fulfilled the traditional obligation to their daughter.



## Some Aspects of the Filipino Family

*Anastacio Luis and Herman Sensano*

The Filipinos in Hawaii were the last racial group to come into the Territory, and a great majority of them came as single men. With their migration came the necessity of extensive adaptation to a new environment, to new customs, standards, laws, and language. Like other recently arrived immigrant groups, the Filipinos, owing to physical, temperamental, and cultural differences, have a tendency to segregate themselves.

The Filipino population of the Territory is comparatively young. In 1930, 53 per cent of the Filipinos in Hawaii were in their twenties. But even more noticeable than this abnormal age range is the preponderance of men over women. According to the 1930 census for the Territory, there were five males to every female. The migration of men to the Territory and the Pacific Coast has brought about a situation in the Ilocos provinces (from which most of them come) which is somewhat similar to that of France and Germany during the World War. The able-bodied young men have migrated in such great numbers that the women have to run the farms, repair roads, and work on irrigation projects.

**Family Organization.**—The Filipino family is of the paternal type. The husband is the head of the family, and he has more authority than any other member. His is the final word on important family matters. Contacts with the community are made through him. It is his duty to provide the necessities of life. He approves or disapproves of family relations with outsiders. He is the final disciplinarian. In case the wife fails in her effort to discipline her children, the husband intervenes and enforces parental respect. He does it by the use of the belt or rod in the case of the younger children who are not yet able to perceive the meaning of a firm and determined scolding. A milder form of punishment such as depriving them of certain privileges is applied in the case of the older members.

As a result of migration, however, the power of the husband has diminished and the status of the wife and the children has been enhanced. The Filipino family in Hawaii is for the most part a small group including father, mother, and children, with few relatives, and in some cases entirely emancipated from the control of the wider kinship group of grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. The trend is toward a diminishing of the traditional responsibilities and a redefinition of the roles of the members of the family. Certain functions and traditions which once operated to hold even an inharmonious family together have now weakened or disappeared.

The enhancement of the status of woman in the Filipino

family in Hawaii is due largely to the severance of kinship controls, the abnormal sex ratio, and the waning of traditional responsibilities. Back in the Philippines where farming is the main occupation, the family is very nearly self-sufficient. Most of the things needed are raised by the family. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the dollar or so a day which the husband earns is insufficient to support an average sized family. Consequently, the woman in Hawaii has assumed a wider range of activities and responsibilities. In addition to her household duties, she has become a contributor to the family income by undertaking simple business transactions such as the selling of home-made candies, embroidered pillow cases, and handkerchiefs or by taking in washing or boarders. A woman with a pretty daughter is apt to be most successful in these economic activities. More common than co-operation in production, therefore, is co-operation in the contribution of wages to the family income.

The woman in Hawaii has a decided advantage over her husband. In a place where the sex ratio is so abnormal and where divorce can be secured without difficulty, the woman is tempted to try new husbands for old. This is especially true if she is still young and attractive. Children do not seem to be obstacles to family dissolution nor do they add to family stability in many instances.

The children in the family, although they have become more individualistic and independent, still tend to adhere to the principle of filial piety. Individualism on the part of the children is due to the educational differences from their parents. For the most part, the parents received very little schooling. Although they may accept the opinion of their children when Western ideas and customs are involved, the parents still insist upon the final word in the majority of cases.

The parents believe in educating the boys as much as possible. Great sacrifices are made on their behalf. They contend, however, that educating a girl beyond the requirements of a good wife and a wise mother is a waste of time and money, since the girl is to leave her parents at marriage and therefore cannot repay the debt she has incurred.

The parents and eventually the older children lay the foundation for the attitudes, manners, and morals of each child in the family during his formative years. Seniority is the most important factor in determining the role which each child in the family plays. Everyone is obligated to show a reasonable amount of respect for an elder. For example, it is bad form to call an older person by his name only without the use of the word **manong** for men and **manang** for women. These words literally mean brother and sister respectively. The Christian doctrine of brotherhood as taught by the Catholic church in the Philippines has extended the scope of these words beyond the limits of the family circle.

An individual addressing another by either **manong** or **manang** depending upon the sex of the person addressed implies his subordination and humbleness, an attitude which should be assumed by a younger person. In fact it is customary to abstain from using the name of the person addressed except to avoid ambiguity. It is the responsibility of the older person to see that the younger members follow this standardized form of communication (social) among members of the family and with outsiders. The early moral training of a member is judged by his adherence to this form of address toward his elders and by his conduct toward strangers. Younger persons in the family are usually called by their first names or nicknames.

It is absolutely taboo for the children to call their parents by their names. In most Filipino families, the mode of address is somewhat Americanized. **Pa** for father and **ma** for mother are used interchangeably with the Ilocano words **tatang** and **inang** which mean father and mother respectively. On the other hand, the parents call their children by their nicknames or by such generalized terms as **baroc** for son and **balasango** for daughter. The use of these terms is permitted to anyone who is married or is a parent. Thus it is good form to call the son of another family **baroc** or a daughter **balasango**.

Little formality in the manner of address between the parents is observed. The term *sica* which is equivalent to the pronoun "you" in English is commonly permitted. Thus, instead of calling her husband by his name, Juan, for example, the wife would simply say **sica**. At other times the parents would call each other by their first or nicknames even in the presence of strangers.

The American words, **uncle** and **aunty**, are commonly used instead of **uliteg** and **ikit** which mean uncle and aunt respectively. It is not permissible, however, for Filipino children to say Uncle John or Aunt Mary. Names are used only to avoid ambiguity or confusion. Address between cousins follows that of the family—**manong** and **manang** are used according to seniority.

Strangers are treated differently. Although the same words **manong** and **manang** are used as for elders, there is a different shade in meaning, based upon distance. It is good form to address a young man **manong** or a young lady **manang** merely to signify respect.

**Ama** and **ina** which mean father and mother respectively are used for old people. It must be noted that the addition of "ng" to a Filipino name denotes affection or familiarity. Accordingly, it would be presumptuous to call a strange lady **inang** instead of **ina**.

**Marriage.**—In the Philippines, romantic marriage was frowned upon. The boy's parents took the initiative in selecting the girl and in making arrangements with her par-

ents, even without the knowledge of the couple concerned. Young people were not free to choose their own life-mates. Today, however, this old custom is rapidly passing out of vogue and the tendency is toward greater freedom of choice. The parents, though they greatly resent it, are losing the role they formerly played. This is especially true in Hawaii where the young people have acquired self-expression and democratic ideals under American influence.

The marriage market for Filipinos is exceedingly favorable. According to the 1930 census of the Territory of Hawaii, 90.6 per cent of the females 15 years of age and over were married. This ratio is higher than in any other racial group in Hawaii. Due to the great sex disparity the demand for Filipino women is high even among the very young and in 1930, 49.3 per cent of females from 15 to 19 years of age were married. Obviously the girls have a good deal to say as to whom they shall marry.

Marriage in a Filipino family is an occasion of much gaiety, dancing, and feasting. In Hawaii, there is not very much difference between the practices of the Filipinos and the Occidental groups. There is one very outstanding difference, however, in that in the Filipino wedding, the couple are asked to dance an old folk dance called the **carinosa**, and while they are dancing the relatives, friends, and guests drop their **bitor** (gifts) on the dance floor or put them in a receptacle placed there for that purpose. The gifts are usually in the form of money and sometimes amount to several hundred dollars. The more money collected for the couple, the greater is their prestige in the community. The number of gifts is a good indication of the popularity of the couple in the community.

**Family Substitutes.**—It is not uncommon to find a group of five or six single men living together in a plantation cottage. In this case the organization is patterned after the family. By virtue of his age, the oldest member of the group usually becomes the head. The position of each member of the group depends to a great extent upon age. Education, the length of residence in the plantation, and the type of work performed in the plantation are important determining factors if the age range in the group does not vary greatly. A member working as a **luna** (foreman) or office or store clerk holds a much higher position in the group than a mere laborer. The head exercises a great deal of authority in matters of the household. He assumes the role of both the father and mother of the family. Whenever the other members are too extravagant with their earnings, he reprimands them. His advice is sought on personal problems. If anyone of the group fails to do his duty, complaints from the other members are made through him. He is usually the representative of the group in contacts with the outside. If any dispute or misunderstanding arises among the younger

members, he is consulted, and often his decision is accepted. With such a set up, the youngest member frequently assumes the role of the youngest child in the family. He seldom does his share of the housework especially when the others are lenient and are willing to do it for him. Confident of the support of his house mates, he seldom hesitates to get into a brawl.

In the household tasks, there is a division of duties. Those who go to work earliest in the morning do the cooking and the filling of **kaukau** (lunch) tins. Those who work on the night shift of the mill or who come home first in the afternoon prepare dinner. These groups of single men take great care and pride in the appearance of their dwellings and frequently they cultivate beautiful flower gardens and potted plants.

The financing of such households varies. Frequently each individual is made responsible for the purchase of certain food items. In other households, the expenses are divided equally among the members at the end of the month. This is possible because of the extensive credit-buying in the plantation. When the Filipinos first started buying automobiles, they frequently did it on this **compang** partnership basis.

**Conflicts.**—In the interaction of personalities in the family group, there are conflicts as well as concord among the members. The new American environment has aggravated the conflicts between Filipino parents and their children. In the old country, children were not expected to question the wishes of their parents. Girls were not allowed to go out at night unless they went with their parents. Here in Hawaii, the children go to the public schools where they are taught self-expression in words and in action and, above all, to be Americans. To the parents, who are still thinking in terms of their old background, these children seem ill-mannered, disobedient, and often very obstinate. Whereas the children look upon the parents as old fogies and kill-joys.

One Filipino university student offers a good example of the conflicts that arise from the meeting of the two different standards. In this case the parents of the girl always insisted that one of them accompany her as chaperon, to university social functions. This the student resented greatly, feeling it was unfitting, considering her age. Finally the situation became so unbearable that she decided to go to the mainland to escape parental surveillance.

**Adjustments.**—The trend, however, is towards a diminishing of conflicts and a corresponding increase in proper adjustment. As the parents realize that their children need not be trained as they were, much of the conflict will be eliminated. More and more the parents realize their own inadequacy in the new environment. They are now beginning to see how much it means for their children to be American-

nized and they are beginning to take great pride in the achievements of their children. One needs only to go to a Filipino party to realize just how anxious the parents are for a proper training of their children in the American way. In such parties, a great part of the entertainment is given by juvenile dancers, singers, musicians, and even orators. With the pride and interest Filipino parents are taking in their children's struggle to become Americans, there is every assurance that the new generation will find its proper place in the life of the new Hawaiian community.

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ABSTRACT: "CHANGING MORAL BASES OF THE JAPANESE FAMILY IN HAWAII." In Japan the people think of the family as a continuing organization embracing not merely a man and his wife and children but also all others connected by blood or adoption. Not only the living but also the dead are included, and one might even say that those not yet born are members. The family therefore is based on a vertical relationship—on successive, superimposed generations—from parents to children, with primary emphasis upon the patriarch-son relationship, and it exists through historical continuity. In such a cultural situation, family sentiments arise in the efforts of every member to perpetuate and improve the family name and status. The family name is a symbol of the group which has a long history in the community. It is essentially a collective representation which has the power to enlist a strong we-feeling.

In Hawaii the Japanese family system is undergoing changes. Immigration has resulted in the creation of conditions that tend to weaken the moral bases of the family. The removal of the immigrants from their families and home communities meant that they left behind the prestige which went with their land, house, family cemetery, and the village shrines which constantly reminded them of the love and affection of their forefathers. The economic system of Hawaii, with its money wages, has tended to undermine family solidarity. The presence of other people whose family system have different moral bases has helped to weaken family sentiment among the Japanese.—Jitsuchi Masuoka, (*Sociology and Social Research*) XXI (1936), pp. 158-169.

## A Portuguese Family in Hawaii<sup>1</sup>

Dorothy Jose

**Background.**—First, let me tell you about the courtship practices in old Madeira fifty years ago. It was grand, I tell you, and not at all like the practices here today.

One of the events which young lovers of the rural districts literally lived for was the "Holy Ghost Feast" which would often be held in distant villages. Large groups would start on foot, parents accompanying the young people, and they would walk miles for this annual semi-religious festival. These excursions sometimes took several days and every one joined in song and dance along the way. The young men took advantage of this event to court the young girls and did so by singing to them with their guitars. The song was really a conversation to which they played a little accompaniment on the guitar or ukulele.

The first thing the boy would do, you know, would be to look around for a girl he fancied at the Holy Ghost Feasts. When he saw a girl he thought would make a good wife, he inquired about her through friends and if he were able to write; he would write her a letter . . . In cases where the young men had not learned to write, friends would serve as "go-betweens" as far as getting the couple acquainted, but their influence stopped there in most cases, for the girl was absolutely free to make her own decision.

The girls were very well protected and there was no such thing as dating. The girl never went out alone, with her fiancé. Before she could even invite him to the home he had to see her parents, as a young man never called on a girl unless he intended to marry her. This was accepted, so parents looked upon a gentleman caller as a prospective son-in-law. All the courting was done in the home in the presence of the girl's family as they all sat in the family parlor together. As one might well expect, the young people found means of defeating the very conventional expectations of the group.

One of the few other means for social contact was the "sewing bee" at which the women would sew while the men serenaded them; in these cases the men were allowed in the house and conversation was carried on in song. These affairs were well chaperoned as usual.

The reason for so much protection for the girls was to keep them "pure" for with no one having claims upon them, they could refuse to marry a man at the altar if they so desired.

In the cities where fiestas were not held and life was not

as simple as in the country districts, the young men serenaded the girls while they sat on the balconies, much as was done in Spain. In Lisbon a certain young man was known to have serenaded his lady love for fully eight months beneath her balcony before he entered the home.

After the young man had spoken to the parents, the couple became engaged for at least six months before the marriage took place. The parents always provided some food outlay for the wedding in accordance with their financial ability. It was the custom for the bride to have a trousseau of linen . . . It was thrilling to get married then!

**The Family in Hawaii.**—My father and mother were married in Madeira and came to Hawaii on a sailing vessel in 1884, arriving on the island of Kauai after a six months' trip around the Horn. My oldest brother had been refused permission to leave because he had to do military duty, but he stowed away and my parents hid him until the boat was far out to sea. In spite of his youth, he was put under contract with my father upon our arrival here. Being a mason, my father was put to work on the bridges which still stand today. Married men were paid eighteen dollars a month to which about two dollars were added for each child. Food was very cheap and taro, *ulu* (breadfruit) and other fruits and vegetables were plentiful. In those days large schools of fish would be brought in and divided among the laborers. Some of the Portuguese women helped in the fields. We worked very hard every day except on Sunday when we went to Mass, and rested.

My father was the boss in our home, but he handed my mother his pay check every month and she took care of it. Every morning when we got up we had to kiss our parents' hands and ask for their blessing. This is still done by many of the Portuguese families here, though parents are more insistent about their children paying this respect to grandparents and God-Parents; however, some families require their children to do the same for uncles and aunts as well. We each had duties which had to be performed on pain of punishment. All our earnings were put into the family fund, and our mother gave us what she thought was necessary and no more.

We were taught to respect each other in our family and especially our parents and guests. Politeness was vesture punishment. We were not supposed to tell tales on each other; I don't know how the Portuguese on the plantations got the reputation of telling the bosses everything. Our parents loved each of us just the same and treated us all alike. When called by our parents we always answered with the term for "Sir" or "Madam" in our language. Swearing was absolutely forbidden; there was no back talk allowed; we had to take punishment without a murmur and we feared the strap which my mother used for punishing us, for she

<sup>1</sup> The following is a case study of a Portuguese family indicating some of the changes that have taken place in the family controls and customs. It is a verbatim account by a lady of Portuguese ancestry of the experiences within her own family in Hawaii.

was the disciplinarian in our home.

At the table we always said grace before and after meals and no talking was allowed. The table was a sacred place in our home. A linen tablecloth was always used and food was placed on the table family style with each one helping himself from a larger dish to his own. Most of the families had knives, forks, and spoons of wood, silver or an imitation of the latter.

At night before going to bed, the whole family was led in prayer by my father who taught us all the prayers we knew. We had some superstitions—I remember when a chicken crowed like rooster it had to be killed immediately lest some catastrophe should take place. Dogs howling at night always meant a death in the family or neighborhood. Many of the families believed and still believe in what they term *fetseras*, a word for fairies who are supposedly actual people possessed of the power to change into various animals at night. My father told of the night when, upon returning home from another village, he found the path near his home blocked by a mass of goats, a very strange thing for that locality where no one raised the animal at all. Stranger still was the fact that the herd left no trace of their having been there. As a protection against persons possessed of this power people leave scissors open somewhere in the house or keep the broom standing upside down behind the door.

When a new baby was born in our home, we baptized it within a week after its birth, my parents choosing a couple for whom they had great respect, as God-parents. They chose religious people usually as the God-parents assumed responsibility for the child in the event that anything should happen to its parents. A baptism dinner was always given in honor of the event. The ceremony was performed in church by a priest.

**Courtship and Marriage.**—I spent much of my childhood in California. After several trips between Hawaii and the coast, we finally settled on Kauai for my father had become blind as a result of an accident at work and we wanted a permanent home. I was about fifteen years old at that time and used to go to the store with my mother when she went to do the family marketing. There I saw the young clerk who after ten years became my husband. He used to come to our house but only to take orders<sup>2</sup>—we had liked each other from the beginning, but as he couldn't make a social call, he used to send me letters by the delivery boy. After several years he came to Honolulu to work and from here wrote to me asking me to marry him. I told my mother about it, and she told my father about it as I couldn't talk about such things to him myself. My husband then had to make a special trip from Honolulu to Kauai to ask for my hand. When he arrived at the house, he was asked to sit in the parlour

<sup>2</sup> The system employed by stores to solicit trade in the rural districts.

with my parents and I purposely remained out of sight. After he had told my parents that he wanted to marry me, my father called me in and asked if I wanted to marry the boy. Boy! it was embarrassing! You see it was up to the girl to decide then and there as to whether or not she wanted to be married to the suitor. I accepted because I had already been in love with him for eight years . . . in spite of this we became engaged for two years before we were married.<sup>3</sup>

In those days every girl got many proposals because girls were scarce and many times they agreed to marry men they didn't know themselves as in the case of my sister. Somebody told the man she married that there was a good girl at a certain plantation so he proceeded to get friends to talk to her and when, for the first time he called on her, obviously to propose to her, she accepted. This was a radical change from the custom in the old country where long courtship was the expected thing, but in the new community where there was a scarcity of women, it became accepted . . . because it was necessary.

As the time for my wedding approached, I was given much advice by friends and relatives but sex was not discussed and we girls knew little about married life.

For the wedding, all the members of the wedding party met at my home and from there we went to the Catholic church where we were married at mass. We had three witnesses, a married couple for me and a best man for my husband. Today in Hawaii, Portuguese couples have abandoned this practice and have only two witnesses as in the American wedding. After the church ceremony, we had a dinner. We couldn't get away as couples here do nowadays, but had to stay until everything was over as our first duty was to our guests. It was the biggest event of my life, and I am sure I speak for all the girls of my nationality in my day when I say that getting married was very much and enthusiastically anticipated.

**Funerals.**<sup>4</sup>—When any one died in a Portuguese family a few years back or even today in some of the remote rural districts of the Islands, the body was placed on a long table in the parlour with flowers and lighted candles placed around it. The hands were folded on the chest and a crucifix or rosary placed on it. The family sat around the table and the mother or the remaining head of the family occupied the most prominent place. The older members of the family always wore black. There was much show of emotion, and weeping began afresh as each newcomer entered. Often the older members of the immediate family or some other relative or friend would talk at length in a wailing voice of all the accomplishments and hard work of the deceased. A very detailed description of the illness would nearly always be

<sup>3</sup> The careful protection of the girls and the long engagements are gradually being dispensed with in Hawaii.

<sup>4</sup> Contributed by the author.

given. Shortcomings of the deceased were sometimes mentioned but always with some compensating virtue. As each friend came he would kneel and pray for the soul of the departed. They usually kept the body in the house all night and the best friends of the family would sit up all night with them. These were occasions for social visiting and the men would sit out on the porch and discuss work, old-times, and very often ghost stories. Coffee was usually served at about two or three o'clock in the morning to help keep them awake. The hour of the funeral would be set for early the next day depending upon how soon the carpenters could get the coffin ready and whether or not the grave diggers struck rock, as was often the case in North Kona. Just before the hour set for leaving the house, the priest would come to bless the corpse and pray, in which ceremony all present joined. The members of the family would then kiss the corpse and the cover would be laid on the black coffin amid a loud outburst of fresh weeping. Those present would then all go to the church for services which were held over the coffin. After this short ceremony, they proceeded to the cemetery with the coffin in the first car and the family following immediately after. At the lowering of the coffin every one threw in a handful of dirt just before actual refilling of the grave began.

### Population Notes

Andrew W. Lind

A generation ago Hawaii was a land of foreigners. Like most pioneer regions, its population consisted chiefly of immigrants, most of them ineligible to citizenship. A common conception of Hawaii, as a strange collection of peoples from many lands—China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, South Sea Islands, Puerto Rico, Portugal, Russia, the United States, and many others—corresponded roughly with the facts. Few people, even in Hawaii however, realize how rapidly Hawaii is losing its foreign cast as measured by the fact of citizenship. As recently as 1920, nearly four out of every ten persons (39 per cent) living in Hawaii were aliens; now it is slightly more than two out of ten. The number and proportion of the population of Hawaii who are citizens of the United States may be expected to increase.

Table I. Number and Percentage of Citizens and Aliens in Hawaii, 1920, 1930, and 1936<sup>1</sup>

	Total	Citizens	Per Cent		Per Cent
			Citizen	Non-citizens	
1920	255,912	155,600	60.8	100,512	39.2
1930	368,336	253,215	68.7	115,121	31.3
1936	393,277	304,212	77.4	89,065	22.6

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1936 based upon Board of Health estimate.

The number and proportion of aliens among the people of Oriental birth and ancestry in Hawaii has been high throughout the past fifty years, due in part to the fact that under the United States law, the first generation were ineligible to citizenship. Estimates for June, 1936, indicate that for all groups except the Filipinos, the proportion of citizens is now considerably more than half.

Table II. Number and Percentage of Population by Race and Citizenship. June 30, 1936

RACIAL GROUPS	1930 <sup>1</sup>			1936 <sup>2</sup>		
	Total Pop.	Citizen <sup>3</sup> Pop.	% Citizen	Total Pop.	Citizen Pop.	% Citizen
Hawaiian	22,636	22,636	100.0	21,594	21,594	100.0
Cau. Haw.	15,632	15,632	100.0	19,319	19,319	100.0
Asia. Haw.	12,592	12,592	100.0	18,271	18,271	100.0
Portuguese	27,588	25,196	91.3	29,863	28,109	94.1
Puer. Rican	6,671	6,671	100.0	7,470	7,470	100.0
Spanish	1,219	914	75.0	1,261	1,036	82.2
Other Cau.	44,895	43,039	95.9	57,069	54,466	95.4
Chinese	27,179	20,030	73.7	27,495	22,768	82.8
Japanese	139,631	91,740	65.7	149,886	110,759	73.9
Korean	6,461	3,489	54.0	6,682	4,157	62.2
Filipino	63,052	10,595	16.7	53,550	14,478	27.0
Others	780	771	98.8	799	767	96.0
Total	368,336	253,215	68.7	393,277	304,212	77.4

The marked increase in the percentage of citizens among the non-Caucasian groups is due to the excess of births over deaths of citizens and the extensive loss through deaths and emigration of the non-citizens.

- <sup>1</sup> Based on data derived from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.
- <sup>2</sup> Board of Health Estimate.
- <sup>3</sup> Involves a small element of estimate.